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NEW ENGLAND: AN AUTUMN IMPRESSION.

IN THREE PARTS: PART FIRST.

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I.

Conscious that the impressions of the very first hours have always the value of their intensity, I shrink from wasting those that attended my arrival, my return after long years, even though they be out of order with the others that were promptly to follow and that I here gather in, as best I may, under a single head. They referred partly, these instant vibrations, to a past recalled from very far back; fell into a train of association that receded, for its beginning, to the dimness of extreme youth. One's extremest youth had been full of New York, and one was absurdly finding it again, meeting it at every turn, in sights, sounds, smells, even in the chaos of confusion and change; a process under which, verily, recognition became more interesting and more amusing in proportion as it became more difficult, like the spelling-out of foreign sentences of which one knows but half the words. It was not, indeed, at Hoboken, on emerging from the comparatively assured order of the great berth of the ship, that recognition *was* difficult: there, only too confoundingly familiar and too serenely exempt from change, the waterside squalor of the great city put forth again its most inimitable notes, showed so true to the barbarisms

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it had not outlived that one could only fall to wondering what obscure inward virtue had preserved it. There was virtue evident enough in the crossing of the water, that brave sense of the big, bright, breezy bay; of light and space and multitudinous movement; of the serried, bristling city, held in the easy embrace of its great good-natured rivers, very much as a battered and accommodating beauty may sometimes be "distinguished" by a gallant less fastidious, with his open arms, than his type would seem to imply. But what was it that was still holding together, for observation, on the hither shore, the same old sordid facts, all the ugly items that had seemed destined so long ago to fall apart from their very cynicism—the rude cavities, the loose cobbles, the dislodged supports, the unreclaimed pools, of the roadway; the unregulated traffic, as of innumerable desperate drays charging upon each other with tragic long-necked, sharp-ribbed horses (a length and a sharpness all emphasized by the anguish of effort); the corpulent constables, with helmets askew, swinging their legs, in high detachment, from coigns of contemplation; the huddled houses of the other time, red-faced, off their balance, almost prone, as from too conscious an affinity with "saloon" civilization.

It was, doubtless, open to the repentant absentee to feel these things sweetened by some shy principle of picturesqueness; and I admit that I asked myself, while I considered and bumped, why what was "sauce for the goose" should *not* be in this case sauce for the gander; and why antique shabbiness shouldn't plead, on this particular waterside, the cause it more or less successfully pleads on so many others. The light of the September day was lovely, and the sun of New York rests mostly, with a laziness all its own, on that dull glaze of crimson paint, as thick as on the cheek of the cruder coquetry, which is, in general, beneath its range, the sign of the old-fashioned. Yes; I could remind myself, as I went, that Naples, that Tangiers or Constantinople has probably nothing braver to flaunt, and mingle with excited recognition the still finer throb of seeing in advance, seeing even to alarm, many of the responsibilities lying in wait for the habit of headlong critical or fanciful reaction, many of the inconsistencies in which it would probably have, at the best, more or less defiantly to drape itself. Such meditations, at all events, bridged over alike the weak places of criticism and some of the

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rougher ones of my material passage. Nothing was left, for the rest of the episode, but a kind of fluidity of appreciation—a mild, warm wave that broke over the succession of aspects and objects according to some odd inward rhythm, and often, no doubt, with a violence that there was little in the phenomena themselves flagrantly to justify. It floated me, my wave, all that day and the next; so that I still think tenderly—for the short backward view is already a distance with "tone"—of the service it rendered me and of the various perceptive penetrations, charming coves of still blue water, that carried me up into the subject, so to speak, and enabled me to step ashore. The subject was everywhere—that was the beauty, that the advantage: it was thrilling, really, to find one's self in presence of a subject to which everything directly contributed, leaving no touch of experience irrelevant. That, at any rate, so far as feeling it went; treating it, evidently, was going to be a matter of prodigious difficulty and selection—in consequence of which, indeed, there might even be a certain recklessness in the largest surrender to impressions. Clearly, however, these were not for the present—and such as they were—to be kept at bay; the hour of reckoning, obviously, would come, with more of them heaped up than would prove usable, a greater quantity of vision, possibly, than might fit into decent form: whereby, assuredly, the part of wisdom was to put in as much as possible of one's recklessness while it was fresh.

It was fairly droll, for instance, the quantity of vision that began to press during a wayside rest in a house of genial but discriminating hospitality that opened its doors just where the fiddle-string of association could most intensely vibrate, just where the sense of "old New York," of the earlier stages of the picture now so violently overpainted, found most of its occasions—found them, to extravagance, within and without. The good easy Square, known in childhood, and as if the light were yellower there from that small accident, bristled with reminders as vague as they were sweet; within, especially, the place was a cool backwater, for time as well as for space; out of the slightly dim depths of which, at the turn of staircases and from the walls of communicating rooms, portraits and relics and records, faintly, quaintly æsthetic, in intention at least, and discreetly — yet bravely, too, and all so archaically and pathetically—Bohemian, laid traps, of a pleasantly primitive order, for memory, for senti-

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ment, for relenting irony; gross little devices, on the part of the circumscribed past, which appealed with scarce more emphasis than so many tail-pieces of closed chapters. The whole impression had fairly a rococo tone; and it was in this perceptibly golden air, the air of old empty New York afternoons of the waning summer-time, when the long, the perpendicular, rattle, as of buckets, forever thirsty, in the bottomless well of fortune, almost dies out in the merciful cross-streets, that the ample rearward loggia of the Club seemed serenely to hang; the glazed, unglazed, gallery dedicated to the array of small spread tables, for which blank "backs," right and left and opposite, made a privacy; backs blank with the bold crimson of the New York house-painter, and playing upon the chord of remembrance, all so absurdly, with the scarcely less simplified green of their great cascades of Virginia-creeper, as yet unturned: an admonition, this, for piety, as well as a reminder—since one had somehow failed to treasure it up—that the rather pettifogging plan of the city, the fruit, on the spot, of an artless age, happened to leave even so much margin as this for consoling chances. There were plenty of these—which I perhaps seem unduly to patronize in speaking of them as only "consoling"—for many hours to come and while the easy wave that I have mentioned continued to float me: so abysmal are the resources of the foredoomed student of manners, or so helpless, at least, his case when once adrift in that tide.

If in Gramercy Park already, three hours after his arrival, he had felt himself, this victim, up to his neck in what I have called his "subject," the matter was quite beyond calculation by the time he had tumbled, in such a glorified "four-wheeler," and with such an odd consciousness of roughness superimposed upon smoothness, far down-town again, and, on the deck of a shining steamer bound for the Jersey shore, was taking all the breeze of the Bay. The note of manners, the note that begins to sound, everywhere, for the spirit newly disembarked, with the first word exchanged, seemed, on the great clean deck, fairly to vociferate in the breeze—and not at all, so far, as was pleasant to remark, to the harshening of that element. Nothing could have been more to the spectator's purpose, moreover, than the fact he was ready to hail as the most characteristic in the world, the fact that what surrounded him was a rare collection of young men of business returning, as the phrase is, and in the pride of their youth and

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their might, to their "homes," and that, if treasures of "type" were not here to be disengaged, the fault would be all his own. It was perhaps this simple sense of treasure to be gathered in, it was doubtless this very confidence in the objective reality of impressions, so that they could deliciously be left to ripen, like golden apples, on the tree—it was all this that gave a charm to one's sitting in the orchard, gave a strange and inordinate charm both to the prospect of the Jersey shore and to every inch of the entertainment, so divinely inexpensive, by the way. The immense liberality of the Bay, the noble amplitude of the boat, the great unlocked and tumbled-out city on one hand, and the low, accessible mystery of the opposite State on the other, watching any approach, to all appearance, with so gentle and patient an eye; the gaiety of the light, the gladness of the air, and above all (for it most came back to that), the unconscious affluence, the variety in identity, of the young men of business: these things somehow left speculation, left curiosity exciting, yet kept it beguilingly safe. And what shall I say more of all that presently followed than that it sharpened to the last pleasantness—quite draining it of fears of fatuity—that consciousness of strolling in the orchard that was all one's own to pluck, and counting, overhead, the apples of gold? I figure, I repeat, under this name, those thick-growing items of the characteristic that were surely going to drop into one's hand, for vivid illustration, as soon as one could begin to hold it out.

Heavy with fruit, in particular, was the whole spreading bough that rustled above me during an afternoon, a very wonderful afternoon, that I spent in being ever so wisely driven, driven further and further, into the large lucidity of—well, of what else shall I call it but the New Jersey condition? That, no doubt, is a loose label for the picture; but impressions had to range themselves, for the hour, as they could. I had come forth for a view of such parts of the condition as might peep out at the hour and on the spot, and it was clearly not going to be the restless analyst's own fault if conditions in general, everywhere, should strike him as peculiarly, as almost affectingly, at the mercy of observation. They came out to meet us, in their actuality, in the soft afternoon; they stood, artless, unconscious, unashamed, at the very gates of Appearance; they might, verily, have been there, in their plenitude, at the call of some procession of drums and banners—the

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principal facts of the case being collected along our passage, to my fancy, quite as if they had been principal citizens. And then there was the further fact of the case, one's own ridiculous property and sign—the romantic, if not the pathetic, circumstance of one's having had to wait till now to read even such meagre meanings as this into a page at which one's geography might so easily have opened. It might have threatened, for twenty minutes, to be almost complicating, but the truth was recorded: it was an adventure, unmistakably, to have a revelation made so convenient—to be learning at last, in the maturity of one's powers, what New Jersey might "connote." This was nearer than I had ever come to any such experience; and it was now as if, all my life, my curiosity had been greater than I knew. Such, for an excited sensibility, are the refinements of personal contact. These influences then were present, as a source of glamour, at every turn of our drive, and especially present, I imagined, during that longest perspective when the road took no turn, but showed us, with a large, calm consistency, the straight blue band of summer sea, between the sandy shore and the reclaimed margin of which the chain of big villas was stretched tight, or at least kept straight, almost as for the close stringing of more or less monstrous pearls. The association of the monstrous thrusts itself somehow into my retrospect, for all the decent humility of the low, quiet coast, where the shadows of the waning afternoon could lengthen at their will, and the chariots of Israel, on the wide and admirable road, could advance, in the glittering eye of each array of extraordinarily exposed windows, as through an harmonious golden haze.

There was gold-dust in the air, no doubt—which would have been again an element of glamour if it had not rather lighted the scene with too crude a confidence. It was one of the phases, full of its own marks and signs, of New York, the immense, in *villeggiatura*—and, presently, with little room left for doubt of what particular phase it might be. The huge new houses, up and down, looked over their smart, short lawns as with a certain familiar prominence in their profiles, which was borne out by the accent, loud, assertive, yet benevolent withal, with which they confessed to their extreme expensiveness. "Oh, yes; we were awfully dear, for what we are and for what we do"—it was proud, but it was rather rueful; with the odd appearance everywhere as of florid creations waiting, a little bewilderingly, for their justifi-

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cation, waiting for the next clause in the sequence, waiting in short for life, for time, for interest, for character, for identity itself to come to them, quite as large spread tables or superfluous shops may wait for guests and customers. The scene overflowed with curious suggestion; it comes back to me with the afternoon air and the amiable flatness, the note of the sea in a drowsy mood; and I thus somehow think of the great white boxes as standing there with the silvered ghostliness (for all the silver involved) of a series of candid new moons. It could only be the occupants, moreover, who were driving on the vast, featureless highway, to and fro in front of their ingenuous palaces and as if pretending not to recognize them when they passed; German Jewry—wasn't it conceivable?—tending to the stout, the simple, the kind, quite visibly to the patriarchal, and with the old superseded shabbiness of Long Branch partly for the goal of their course; the big, brown wooden barracks of the hotels, the bold rotunda of the gaming-room—monuments already these, in truth, of a more artless age, and yet with too little history about them for dignity of ruin. Dignity, if not of ruin at least of reverence, was what, at other points, doubtless, we failed considerably less to read into the cottage where Grant lived and the cottage where Garfield died; though they had, for all the world, those modest structures, exactly the effect of objects diminished by recession into space—as if to symbolize the rapidity of their recession into time. They have been left so far behind by the expensive, as the expensive is now practised, in spite of having apparently been originally a sufficient expression of it.

This could pass, it seemed, for the greatest vividness of the picture—that the expensive, for New York in *villeggiatura,* even on such subordinate showing, is like a train covering ground at maximum speed and pushing on, at present, into regions unmeasurable. It included, however, other lights, some of which glimmered, to my eyes, as with the promise of great future intensity—hanging themselves as directly over the question of manners as if they had been a row of lustres reflected in the polished floor of a ball-room. Here was the expensive as a power by itself, a power unguided, undirected, practically unapplied, really exerting itself in a void that could make it no response, that had nothing—poor gentle, patient, rueful, but altogether helpless, void!—to offer in return. The game was that of its doing, each

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party to the whole combination, what it could, but with the result of the common effort's falling so short. Nothing could be of a livelier interest—with the question of manners always in view—than to note that the most as yet accomplished at such a cost was the air of unmitigated publicity, publicity as a condition, as a doom, from which there could be no appeal; just as in all the topsy-turvy order, the defeated scheme, the misplaced confidence, or whatever one may call it, there was no achieved protection, no constituted mystery of retreat, no saving complexity, not so much as might be represented by a foot of garden wall or a preliminary sketch of interposing shade. The homely principle under which the picture held at all together was that of the famous freedom of the cat to look at the king; that seemed, so clearly, throughout, the only motto that would work. The ample villas, in their full dress, planted each on its little square of brightly green carpet, and as with their stiff skirts pulled well down, eyed each other, at short range, from head to foot; while the open road, the chariots, the buggies, the motors, the pedestrians—which last number, indeed, was remarkably small—regarded at their ease both this reciprocity and the parties to it. It was in fact all *one* participation, with an effect deterrent to those ingenuities, or perhaps indeed rather to those commonplaces, of conjecture produced in general by the outward show of the fortunate life. That, precisely, appeared the answer to the question of manners: the fact that in such conditions there couldn't *be* any manners to speak of; that the basis of privacy was somehow wanting for them; and that nothing, accordingly, no image, no presumption of constituted relations, possibilities, amenities, in the social, the domestic order, was inwardly projected. It was as if the projection had been so completely outward that one could but find one's self almost uneasy about the mere perspective required for the common acts of the personal life, that minimum of vagueness as to what takes place in it for which the complete "home" aspires to provide.

What had it been their idea to *do,* the good people—do, exactly, *for* their manners, their habits, their intercourse, their relations, their pleasures, their general advantage and justification? Do, that is, in affirming their wealth with such innocent emphasis and yet not at the same time affirming anything else. It would have rested on the cold-blooded critic, doubtless, to explain why the

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crudity of wealth did strike him with so direct a force; accompanied after all with no paraphernalia, no visible redundancies of possession, not so much as a lodge at any gate, nothing but the scale of many of the houses and their candid look of having cost as much as they knew how. Unmistakably they all proclaimed it —they would have cost still more had the way but been shown them; and, meanwhile, they added as with one voice, they would take a fresh start as soon as ever it should be. "We are only instalments, symbols, stop-gaps," they practically admitted, and with no shade of embarrassment; "expensive as we are, we have nothing to do with continuity, responsibility, transmission, and don't in the least care what becomes of us after we have served our present purpose." On the detail of this impression, however, I needn't insist; the essence of it, which was all that was worth catching, was one's recognition of the odd treachery that may practically lie in wait for isolated opulence. The highest luxury of all, the supremely expensive thing, is constituted privacy—and yet it was the supremely expensive thing that the good people had supposed themselves to be getting: all of which, I repeat, enriched the case, for the restless analyst, with an illustrative importance. For what did it offer but the sharp interest of the match everywhere and everlastingly played between the short-cut and the long road?—an interest never so sharp as since the short-cut has been able to find itself so endlessly backed by money. Money in fact *is* the short-cut—or the short-cut, money; and the long road having, in the instance before me, so little operated, operated for the effect, as we may say, of the cumulative, the game remained all in the hands of its adversary.

The example went straight to the point, and thus was the drama presented: what turn, on the larger, the general stage, was the game going to take? The whole spectacle, with the question, opened out, diffusing positively a multitudinous murmur that was in my ears, for some of the more subtly-romantic parts of the drive, as who should say (the sweet American vaguenesses, hailed again, the dear old, nameless, promiscuous lengths of woodside and waterside), like the collective afternoon hum of invisible insects. Yes; it was all actually going to be drama, and *that* drama; than which nothing could be more to the occult purpose of the confirmed, the systematic story-seeker, or to that even of the mere ancient contemplative person curious of character. The

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very *donnée* of the piece could be given, the subject formulated: the great adventure of a society reaching out into the apparent void for the amenities, the consummations, after having earnestly gathered in so many of the preparations and necessities. "Into the apparent void"—I had to insist on that, since without it there would be neither comedy nor tragedy; besides which so little was wanting, in the way of vacancy, to the completeness of the appearance. What would lurk beneath this—or indeed what wouldn't, what mightn't—to thicken the plot from stage to stage and to intensify the action? The story-seeker would be present, quite intimately present, at the general effort—showing, doubtless, as quite heroic in many a case—to gouge an interest *out* of the vacancy, gouge it with tools of price, even as copper and gold and diamonds are extracted, by elaborate processes, from earth-sections of small superficial expression. What was such an effort, on its associated side, for the attentive mind, but a more or less adventurous fight, carried on from scene to scene, with fluctuations and variations, the shifting quantity of success and failure? Never would be such a chance to see how the short-cut works, and if there be really any substitute for roundabout experience, for troublesome history, for the long, the immitigable process of time. It was a promise, clearly, of the highest entertainment.

II.

It was presently to come back to me, however, that there were other sorts, too—so many sorts, in fact, for the ancient contemplative person, that selection and omission, in face of them, become almost a pain, and the sacrifice of even the least of these immediate sequences of impression in its freshness a lively regret. But without much foreshortening is no representation, and I was promptly to become conscious, at all events, of quite a different part of the picture, and of personal perceptions, to match it, of a different order. I woke up, by a quick transition, in the New Hampshire mountains, in the deep valleys and the wide woodlands, on the forest-fringed slopes, the far-seeing crests of the high places, and by the side of the liberal streams and the lonely lakes; things full, at first, of the sweetness of belated recognition, that of the sense of some bedimmed summer of the distant prime flushing back into life and asking to give again as much as possible of what it had given before—all in spite, too, of much un-

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acquaintedness, of the newness, to my eyes, through the mild September glow, of the particular rich region. I call it rich without compunction, despite its several poverties, caring little that half the charm, or half the response to it, may have been shamelessly "subjective"; since that but slightly shifts the ground of the beauty of the impression. When you wander about in Arcadia, you ask as few questions as possible. That *is* Arcadia, in fact, and questions drop, or at least get themselves deferred and shiftlessly shirked; in conformity with which truth the New England hills and woods—since they were not all, for the weeks to come, of mere New Hampshire—the mild September glow and even the clear October blaze were things to play on the chords of memory and association, to say nothing of those of surprise, with an admirable art of their own. The tune may have dropped at last, but it succeeded for a month in being strangely sweet, and in producing, quite with intensity, the fine illusion. Here, moreover, was "interest" of the sort that could come easily, and therefore not of the sort—quite the contrary—that involved a consideration of the millions spent; a fact none the fainter, into the bargain, for having its curious, unexpected, inscrutable side.

Why was the whole connotation so *delicately* Arcadian, like that of the Arcadia of an old tapestry, an old legend, an old love-story in fifteen volumes, one of those of Mademoiselle de Scudéri? Why, in default of other elements of the higher finish, did all the woodwalks and nestled nooks and shallow, carpeted dells, why did most of the larger views themselves, the outlooks to purple crags and blue horizon, insist on referring themselves to the idyllic *type* in its purity?—as if the higher finish, even at the hand of nature, were in some sort a perversion, and hillsides and rocky eminences and wild orchards, in short any common sequestered spot, could strike one as the more exquisitely and ideally Sicilian, Theocritan, poetic, romantic, academic, from their not bearing the burden of too much history. The history was there in its degree, and one came upon it, on sunny afternoons, in the form of the classic abandoned farm of the rude forefather who had lost patience with his fate. These scenes of old, hard New England effort, defeated by the soil and the climate and reclaimed by nature and time—the crumbled, lonely chimney-stack, the overgrown threshold, the dried-up well, the cart-track vague and lost—these seemed the only notes to interfere, in their meagreness, with the

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queer *other*, the larger, eloquence that one kept reading into the picture. Even the wild legend, immediately local, of the Indian who, having, a hundred years ago, murdered a husbandman, was pursued, by roused avengers, to the topmost peak of Chocorua Mountain, and thence, to escape, took his leap into the abyss—even so sharp an echo of a definite far-off past, enriching the effect of an admirable silvered summit (for Chocorua Mountain carries its gray head quite with the grandest air), spent itself in the mere idleness of the undiscriminated, tangled actual. There was one thinkable reason, of course, for everything, which hung there as a possible answer to any question, should any question insist. Did one by chance exaggerate, did one rhapsodize amiss, and was the apparent superior charm of the whole thing mainly but an accident of one's own situation, the state of having happened to be deprived to excess—that is, for too long—of naturalism in *quantity?* Here it was in such quantity as one hadn't for years had to deal with; and that might by itself be a luxury corrupting the judgment.

It was absurd, perhaps, to have one's head so easily turned; but there was perfect convenience, at least, in the way the parts of the impression fell together and took a particular light. This light, from whatever source proceeding, cast an irresistible spell, bathed the picture in the confessed resignation of early autumn, the charming sadness that resigned itself with a silent smile. I say "silent" because the voice of the air had dropped as forever, dropped to a stillness exquisite, day by day, for a pilgrim from a land of stertorous breathing, one of the windiest corners of the world; the leaves of the forest turned, one by one, to crimson and to gold, but never broke off: all to the enhancement of this strange conscious hush of the landscape, which kept one in presence as of a world created, a stage set, a sort of ample capacity constituted, for—well, for things that wouldn't, after all, happen: more the pity for them, and for me and for you. This view of so many of the high places of the hills and deep places of the woods, the lost trails and wasted bowers, the vague, empty, rock-roughened pastures, the lonely intervals where the afternoon lingered and the hidden ponds over which the season itself seemed to bend as a young bedizened, a slightly melodramatic mother, before taking some guilty flight, hangs over the crib of her sleeping child—these things put you, so far as you were preoccupied with the

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human history of places, into a mood in which appreciation became a positive wantonness and the sense of quality, plucking up unexpectedly a spirit, fairly threatened to take the game into its hands. You discovered, when once it was stirred, an elegance in the commonest objects, and a mystery even in accidents that really represented, perhaps, mere plainness unashamed. Why otherwise, for instance, the inveterate charm of the silver-gray rock cropping through thinly-grassed acres, with a placed and "composed" felicity that suggested the furniture of a drawing-room? The great boulders in the woods, the pulpit-stones, the couchant and rampant beasts, the isolated cliffs and lichened cathedrals had all, seen, as one passed, through their drizzle of forest light, a special New Hampshire beauty; but I never tired of finding myself of a sudden in some lonely confined place, that was yet at the same time both wide and bright, where I could recognize, after the fashion of the old New Hampshire sociability, every facility for spending the day. There was the oddity—the place was furnished by its own good taste; its bosky ring shut it in, the two or three gaps of the old forgotten enclosure made symmetrical doors, the sweet old stones had the surface of gray velvet, and the scattered wild apples were like figures in the carpet.

It might be an ado about trifles—and half the poetry, roundabout, the poetry in solution in the air, was doubtless but the alertness of the touch of autumn, the imprisoned painter, the Bohemian with a rusty jacket, who had already broken out with palette and brush; yet the way the color begins in those days to be dabbed, the way, here and there, for a start, a solitary maple, on a woodside, flames in single scarlet, recalls nothing so much as the daughter of a noble house dressed for a fancy-ball, with the whole family gathered round to admire her before she goes. One speaks, at the same time, of the orchards; but there are properly no orchards where half the countryside shows, all September, the easiest, most familiar sacrifice to Pomona. The apple-tree, in New England, plays the part of the olive in Italy, charges itself with the effect of detail, for the most part otherwise too scantily produced, and, engaged in this charming care, becomes infinitely decorative and delicate. What it must do for the too underdressed land in May and June is easily supposable; but its office in the early autumn is to scatter coral and gold. The apples are everywhere, and every interval, every old clearing, an orchard; they

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have "run down" from neglect and shrunken from cheapness—you pick them up from under your feet but to bite into them, for fellowship, and throw them away; but as you catch their young brightness in the blue air, where they suggest strings of strange-colored pearls tangled in the knotted boughs, as you note their manner of swarming for a brief and wasted gaiety, they seem to ask to be praised only by the cheerful shepherd and the oaten pipe. The question of the encircled waters too, larger and smaller —that again was perhaps an ado about trifles; but you can't, in such conditions, and especially at first, resist the appeal of their extraordinarily mild faces and wooded brims, with the various choice spots where the great straight pines, interspaced beside them, and yielding to small strands as finely curved as the eyebrows of beauty, make the sacred grove and the American classic temple, the temple for the worship of the evening sky, the cult of the Indian canoe, of Fenimore Cooper, of W. C. Bryant, of the immortalizable water-fowl. They look too much alike, the lakes and the ponds, and this is, indeed, all over the world, too much a reproach to lakes and ponds—to all save the pick of the family, say, like George and Champlain; the American idea, moreover, is too inveterately that woods shall grow thick to the water. Yet there is no feature of grace the landscape could so ill spare—let alone one's not knowing what other, what baser, promiscuity mightn't oppress the banks if that of the free overgrowth didn't. Each surface of this sort is a breathing-space, in the large monotony; the rich recurrence of water gives a polish to the manner itself, so to speak, of nature; thanks to which, in any case, the memory of a characteristic perfection attaches, I find, to certain hours of declining day spent, in a shallow cove, on a fallen log, by the scarce-heard plash of the largest liquid expanse under Chocorua; a situation interfused with every properest item of sunset and evening star, of darkening circle of forest, of boat that, across the water, put noiselessly out—of analogy, in short, with every typical triumph of the American landscape "school," now as rococo as so many squares of ingenious wool-work, but the remembered delight of our childhood. On *terra firma,* in New England, too often dusty or scrubby, the guarantee is small that some object at variance, cruelly at variance, with the glamour of the landscape school may not "put out." But that boat across the water is safe, is sustaining as far as it goes; it puts out from

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the cove of romance, from the inlet of poetry, and glides straight over, with muffled oar, to the—well, to the right place.

The consciousness of quantity, rather, as opposed to quality, to which I just alluded, quantity inordinate, quantity duly impressive and duly, if need be, overwhelming, had been the form of vigilance posting itself at the window—whence, incontestably, after a little, yielding to the so marked agitation of its sister-sense, it stepped back into the shadow of the room. If memory, at any rate, with its message so far to carry, had played one a trick, imagination, or some finer faculty still, could play another to match it. If it had settled to a convenience of the mind that "New England scenery" was hard and dry and thin, scrubby and meagre and "plain," here was that comfort routed by every plea of fancy—though of a fancy indeed perhaps open to the charge of the morbid—and by every refinement of appeal. The oddest thing in the world would delightfully have happened—and happened just there—in case one had really found the right word for the anomaly of one's surprise. What would the right word be but that nature, in these lights, was no single one of the horrid things I have named, but was, instead of them all, that quite other happy and charming thing, *feminine?*—feminine from head to foot, in expression, tone and touch, mistress throughout of the feminine attitude and effect. That had by no means the figure recalled from far back, but when once it had fully glimmered out it fitted to perfection, it became the case like a crown of flowers and provided completely for one's relation to the subject.

"Oh Italy, thou woman-land!" breaks out Browning, more than once, straight at *that* mark, and with a force of example that, for this other collocation, served much more as an incitement than as a warning. Reminded vividly of the identities of latitude and living so much in the same relation to the sun, you never really in New Hampshire—nor in Massachusetts, I was soon able to observe—look out at certain hours for the violet spur of an Apennine or venture to speak, in your admiration, of Tuscan or Umbrian forms, without feeling that the ground has quite gratefully borne you. The matter, however, the matter of the insidious grace, is not at all only a question of amusing coincidence; something intrinsically loveable everywhere lurks—which most comes out indeed, no doubt, under the consummate art of autumn. How shall one lightly enough express it, how describe

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it or to what compare it?—since, unmistakably, after all, the numbered items, the few flagrant facts, fail perfectly to account for it. It is like some diffused, some slightly confounding, sweetness of voice, charm of tone and accent, on the part of some enormous family of rugged, of almost ragged, rustics—a tribe of sons and daughters too numerous to be counted and homogeneous perhaps to monotony. There was a voice in the air, from week to week, a spiritual voice: "Oh, the *land's* all right!"—it took on fairly a fondness of emphasis, it rebounded from other aspects, at times, with such a tenderness. Thus it sounded, the blessed note, under many promptings, but always in the same form and to the effect that the poor dear land itself—if that was all that was the matter—would beautifully "do." It seemed to plead, the pathetic presence, to be liked, to be loved, to be stayed with, lived with, handled with some kindness, shown even some courtesy of admiration. What was that but the feminine attitude?—not the actual, current, impeachable, but the old ideal and classic; the air of meeting you everywhere, standing in wait everywhere, yet always without conscious defiance, only in mild submission to your doing what you would with it. The mildness was of the very essence, the essence of all the forms and lines, all the postures and surfaces, all the slimness and thinness and elegance, all the consent, on the part of trees and rocks and streams, even of vague happy valleys and fine undistinguished hills, to be viewed, to their humiliation, in the mass, instead of being viewed in the piece.

It is perhaps absurd to have to hasten to add that doing what you would with it, in these irresponsible senses, simply left out of account, for the country in general, the proved, the notorious fact that nothing useful, nothing profitable, nothing directly economic, *could* be done at all. Written over the great New Hampshire region at least, and stamped, in particular, in the shadow of the admirable high-perched cone of Chocorua, which rears itself, all granite, over a huge interposing shoulder, quite with the *allure* of a minor Matterhorn—everywhere legible was the hard little historic record of agricultural failure and defeat. It had to pass for the historic background, that traceable truth that a stout human experiment had been tried, had broken down. One was in presence, everywhere, of the refusal to consent to history, and of the consciousness, on the part of every site, that this precious compound is in no small degree being insolently made, on the

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other side of the continent, at the expense of such sites. The touching appeal of nature, as I have called it, therefore, the "Do something kind for me," is not so much a "Live upon me and thrive by me" as a "Live *with* me, somehow, and let us make out together what we may do for each other—something that is not merely estimable in more or less greasy greenbacks. See how 'sympathetic' I am," the still voice seemed everywhere to proceed, "and how I am therefore better than my fate; see how I lend myself to poetry and sociability—positively to æsthetic use: give me that consolation." The appeal was thus not only from the rude absence of the company that had gone, and the still ruder presence of the company left, the scattered families, of poor spirit and loose habits, who had feared the risk of change; it was to a listening ear, directly—that of the "summer people," to whom, in general, one soon began to figure so much of the country, in New England, as looking for its future; with the consequence in fact that, from place to place, the summer people themselves almost promised to glow with a reflected light. It was a clue, at any rate, in the maze of contemplation, for this vision of the relation so established, the disinherited, the impracticable land throwing itself, as for a finer argument, on the non-rural, the intensely urban class, and the class in question throwing itself upon the land for reasons of its own. What would come of such an *entente,* on the great scale, for both parties?—that special wonderment was to strike me everywhere as in order. How populations with money to spare may extract a vulgar joy from "show" sections of the earth, like Switzerland and Scotland, we have seen abundantly proved, so that this particular lesson has little more to teach us; in America, however, evidently, the difference in the conditions, and above all in the scale of demonstration, is apt to make lessons new and larger.

Once the whole question had ranged itself under that head—what would the "summer people," as a highly comprehensive term, do with the aspects (perhaps as a highly comprehensive term also), and what would the aspects do with the summer people?—it became conveniently portable and recurrently interesting. Perhaps one of the best reasons I can give for this last side of it was that it kept again and again presenting the idea of that responsibility for *appearances* which, in such an association as loomed thus large, was certain to have to fix itself somewhere.

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What was one to say of appearances as they actually prevailed—from the moment, I mean, they were not of the charming order that nature herself could care for? The appearances of man, the appearances of woman, and of their conjoined life, the general latent spectacle of their arrangements, appurtenances, manners, devices, opened up a different chapter, the leaves of which one could but musingly turn. A better expression of the effect of most of this imagery on the mind should really be sought, I think, in its seeming, through its sad consistency, a mere complete negation of appearances—using the term in the sense of any familiar and customary "care for looks." Even the recognition that, the scattered summer people apart, the thin population was poor and bare had its bewilderment, on which I shall presently touch; but the poverty and the bareness were, as we seemed to measure them, a straight admonition of all we had, from far back, so easily and comfortably taken for granted, in the rural picture, on the other side of the world. There was a particular thing that, more than any other, had been pulled out of the view and that left the whole show, humanly and socially, a collapse. This particular thing was exactly the fact of the *importance,* the significance, imputable, in a degree, to appearances. In the region in which these observations first languished into life that importance simply didn't exist at all, and its absence was everywhere forlornly, almost tragically, attested. There was the little white wooden village, of course, with its houses in queer alignment and its rudely emphasized meeting-house, in particular, very nearly as unconsecrated as the store or the town pump; but this represented, throughout, the highest tribute to the amenities. A sordid ugliness and shabbiness hung, inveterately, about the wayside "farms," and all their appurtenances and incidents—above all, about their inmates; when the idea of appearance was anywhere expressed (and its highest flights were but in the matter of fresh paint or a swept dooryard), a summer person was usually the author of the boon. The teams, the carts, the conveyances in their kinds, the sallow, saturnine natives in charge of them, the enclosures, the fences, the gates, the wayside "bits," of whatever sort, so far as these were referable to human attention or human neglect, kept telling the tale of the difference made, in a land of long winters, by the suppression of the two great factors of the familiar English landscape, the squire and the parson.

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What the squire and the parson do, between them, for appearances (which is what I am talking of) in scenes, predominantly Anglo-Saxon, subject to their sway, is brought home, as in an ineffable glow, when the elements are reduced to "composing," in the still larger Anglo-Saxon light, without them. Here was no church, to begin with; and the shrill effect of the New England meeting-house, in general, so merely continuous and congruous, as to type and tone, with the common objects about it, the single straight breath with which it seems to blow the ground clear of the seated solidity of religion, is an impression that responds to the renewed sight of one of these structures as promptly as the sharp ring to the pressure of the electric button. One lives among English ancientries, for instance, as in a world toward the furnishing of which religion has done a large part. And here, immediately, was a room vast and vacant, with a vacancy especially reducible, for most of the senses, to the fact of that elimination. Perpetually, inevitably, moreover, as the restless analyst wandered, the eliminated thing *par excellence* was the thing most absent to sight—and for which, oh! a thousand times, the small substitutes, the mere multiplications of the signs of theological enterprise, of the complexion and on the scale of commercial and industrial enterprise, had no attenuation worth mentioning. The case, in the New Hampshire hills at least, was quite the same for the pervasive Patron, whose absence made such a hole. We went on counting up all the blessings we had, too unthankfully, elsewhere owed to him; we lost ourselves in the intensity of the truth that to compare a simplified social order with a social order in which feudalism had once struck deep was the right way to measure the penetration of feudalism. If there was no point here at which they had perceptibly begun, there was on the other side of the world no point at which they had perceptibly ceased. One's philosophy, one's logic might perhaps be muddled, but one clung to them for the convenience of their explanation of so much of the ugliness. The ugliness—one pounced, indeed, on this as on a talisman for the future—was the so complete abolition of *forms;* if, with so little reference to their past, present or future possibility, they could be said to have been even so much honored as to be abolished.

The pounce at any rate was, for a guiding light, effectual; the guiding light worked to the degree of seeming at times positively

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to save the restless analyst from madness. He could make the absence of forms responsible, and he could thus react without bitterness—react absolutely with pity; he could judge without cruelty and condemn without despair; he could think of the case as perfectly definite and say to himself that, could forms only *be*, as a recognized accessory to manners, introduced and developed, the ugliness might begin scarcely to know itself. He could play with the fancy that the people might at last grow fairly to like them—far better, at any rate, than the class in question may in its actual ignorance suppose: the necessity would be to give it, on an adequate scale and in some lucid way, a taste of the revelation. What "form," meanwhile, *could* there be in the almost sophisticated dinginess of the present destitution? One thoughtfully asked that, though at the cost of being occasionally pulled up by odd glimpses of the underlying existence of a standard. There was the wage-standard, to begin with; the well-nigh awe-struck view of the high rate of remuneration open to the most abysmally formless of "hired" men, indeed to field or house labor, expert or inexpert, on the part of either sex, in any connection: the ascertainment of which was one of the "bewilderments" I just now spoke of, one of the failures of consistency in the gray revelation. After this there was the standard, ah! the very high standard, of sensibility and propriety, so far as tribute on this ground was not owed by the parties themselves, but owed *to* them, not to be rendered, but to be received, and with a stiff, a warmingly stiff, account kept of it. Didn't it appear at moments a theme for endless study, this queer range of the finer irritability in the breasts of those whose fastidiousness was compatible with the violation of almost every grace in life *but* that one? "Are you the woman of the house?" a rustic cynically squalid, and who makes it a condition of *any* intercourse that he be received at the front door of the house, not at the back, asks of a *maîtresse de maison*, a summer person trained to resignation, as preliminary to a message brought, as he then mentions, from the "washer-lady." These are the phenomena, of course, that prompt the woman of the house, and perhaps still more the man, to throw herself, as I say, on the land, for what it may give her of balm and beauty—a character to which, as I also say, the land may affect these unfortunates as so consciously and tenderly playing up. The lesson had perhaps to be taught; if the Patron is at

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every point so out of the picture, the end is none the less not yet of the demonstration, on the part of the figures peopling it, that they are not to be patronized. Once to see this, however, was again to focus the possible evolution of manners, the latent drama to come: the æsthetic enrichment of the summer people, so far as they should be capable or worthy of it, by contact with the consoling background, so full of charming secrets, and the forces thus conjoined for the production and the imposition of forms. Thrown back again almost altogether, as by the Jersey shore, on the excitement of the speculative, one could extend unlimitedly—by which I mean one could apply to a thousand phases of the waiting spectacle—the idea of the possible drama. So everything worked round, afresh, to the promise of the large interest.

HENRY JAMES.

(To be Continued.)

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THE AMERICAN LAW OF IMPEACHMENT.

BY HANNIS TAYLOR, LL.D. (EDIN. AND DUB.), AUTHOR OF "THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION," ETC., ETC.

ON May 11th, 1787, Warren Hastings was impeached at the bar of the House of Lords, and on the 14th of the same month the Federal Convention met at Philadelphia to frame the Constitution of the United States. Before that historic trial, with its pageantry, its pathos, its eloquence, its failure and disappointment, drew to a close, the English people resolved that the ancient and cumbrous weapon of constitutional warfare known as "impeachment" was no longer adapted to the wants of a modern and progressive society. From that time, excepting the trial of Lord Melville in 1805, Parliamentary impeachment ceased to be a living and working organ of the English constitution. But, before this ancient method of trial thus passed into desuetude in the land of its birth, it was embodied, in a modified form, first, in the several State constitutions, and, finally, in the Constitution of the United States. And so, at rare intervals, this ghost of the past stalks upon the shores of the New World as a spirit exorcised from the Old. As the entire body of American impeachment law was transplanted, in a modified form, from the Parliamentary law of England, the question which arises upon the threshold of every case is this: Do the acts charged constitute impeachable offences, as defined in that law a century ago? The practical difficulty which stands in the way of a clear and definite answer to that question grows out of the fact that American constitutions, State and Federal, fail to define what are generally known as impeachable "high crimes and misdemeanors." As that formula was well understood by constitutional lawyers on both sides of the Atlantic at the time of the severance from the

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Mother Country, it was taken for granted that an examination of the English precedents would always solve doubts that might subsequently arise. No matter how unsatisfactory that process may be, it is the only one which has ever been considered available for purposes of interpretation; it is the only key to the meaning of that all-important clause contained in Article II, section 4, of the Federal Constitution, which provides that "the President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, *or other high crimes and misdemeanors.*"

In order to obtain a starting-point, it is necessary to draw a brief outline of the growth of the English Parliamentary law of impeachment from its inception, in the fiftieth year of the reign of Edward III (1376), down to the making of our first State constitutions in 1776. The history of that growth, of just four hundred years, is divisible into two epochs, easily distinguishable from each other. Not until early in the reign of Edward III was Parliament definitely and finally divided into two Houses that deliberated apart; not until near the close of that reign did the Commons, as the grand jury of the whole realm, attempt to present persons accused of grave offences against the State to the Lords for trial. The proceedings which took place in the Good Parliament against the Lords Latimer and Neville, in 1376, are regarded by the constitutional historians as the earliest instances of a trial by the Lords upon a definite accusation made by the Commons. The new institution thus established was occasionally employed during the reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V, and Henry VI. In the reign last named, Lord Stanley was impeached in 1459 for not sending his troops to the battle of Blore Heath. That trial terminates the first epoch in the history of the law of impeachment in England. It was not again employed during the period that divides 1459 from 1621, an interval of one hundred and sixty-two years. The primary cause for the suspension is to be found in the fact that, during that interval, the decline in the prestige and influence of Parliament was such that the directing power in the State passed to the King in Council, the judicial aspect of which was known as the Star Chamber. There it was that the great State trials took place during the reign of Edward IV, and during the following reigns of the princes of the house of Tudor. Such impeachment trials

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as did take place during the first or formative epoch are not as distinctly defined as those that occurred during the later period.

With the revival of the powers of Parliament, in the reign of James I, the modern history of the English law of impeachment really begins. The first case to occur during the second or modern epoch was that of Sir Giles Mompesson in 1621, the last that of Lord Melville in 1805. Including the first and last, the total is fifty-four. An examination of that list reveals the fact that many of the cases involved private individuals, it having always been the law of England that all subjects, as well out of office as in office, might be thus accused and tried. As that branch of the law of impeachment which authorized the accusation of individuals out of office was never reproduced in this country, cases of that class may be dismissed from consideration. By far the greater number of the remaining cases are what are known as "political impeachments," whereby one party in the State would attempt to crush its adversaries in office by impeaching them for high treason, which generally involved commitment to the Tower. As illustrations, reference may be made to the case of Portland, Halifax, and Somers, three Whig peers impeached of high treason by a Tory House of Commons for their share in promoting the Spanish Partition Treaties in 1700; and to that of Oxford, Bolingbroke, and Ormond, Tory ministers impeached by the triumphant Whigs in the Commons for their share in negotiating the Peace of Utrecht in 1713. Only to these political impeachment cases can we look for a definition of the term "high crimes and misdemeanors," when an accusation is directed by the House of Representatives against the President, Vice-President or any other civil officer of the United States, whose office is not judicial. How vague and unsatisfactory such precedents are when applied to the widely divergent conditions of our national life, the momentous trial of Andrew Johnson fully disclosed.

The cases in which English judges have been impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors in office constitute a class apart; first, because the tenure by which the judges hold is peculiar; second, because, in addition to impeachment, there is another and more summary method provided for their removal. The earliest of the accusations directed against English judges were for the crime of bribery, the crime for which Sir William Thorpe was impeached in 1351, Chancellor Michael de la Pole in 1384,

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Lord Bacon in 1621, and Lord Macclesfield in 1725. Leaving out of view these cases for bribery, pure and simple, but two judicial impeachments remain in the entire history of the English people. Only in those two cases have the Commons impeached and the Lords tried English judges upon charges of judicial misconduct in office other than bribery. When, in 1635, the ship-money writs, extended by Charles I to the inland countries, were resisted, the judges gave answers in favor of the prerogative. When, in the next year, another set of ship writs was issued, Hampden made a test case by refusing to pay the assessment on his lands at Great Missenden, and the issue thus raised was argued in November and December, 1637, before a full Bench. The contention made in favor of the Crown was sustained by seven of the Judges, with Finch, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Berkley, one of the Judges of the King's Bench, in the lead. When the day of reckoning came, Finch fled to Holland, and the remaining six were impeached by the Commons for their judgments rendered in favor of the royal contention. As Berkley's opinion in favor of the legality of ship-money was the most emphatic, he was made the special object of attack in articles which charged, among other things, "that he, the said Robert Berkley, then being one of the Justices of the King's Bench, and having taken an oath for the due administration of justice, according to the laws and statutes of the realm, to His Majesty's liege people, on or about the last of December subscribed an opinion;" "that he, the said Sir Robert Berkley, being one of the Justices of the said court of King's Bench, *and sitting in said court,* deferred to grant a prohibition," etc. In the reign of Charles II, Sir William Scroggs, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, was impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors, in articles which charged that he "hath traitorously and wickedly endeavored to subvert the fundamental laws, and the established religion and government of his Kingdom of England; and, instead thereof, to introduce Popery and arbitrary and tyrannical government against law, which he has declared by divers traitorous and wicked words, opinions, judgments, practices, and actions." Chief among the special charges is the following: "That he, in pursuance of his said traitorous purposes, did, together with the rest of the Justices of the said court, several days before the end of said term, in an arbitrary manner, discharge the grand jury which

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then served for the hundred of Oswaldston, in the county of Middlesex, before they had made their presentments." It thus appears that the House of Commons, in applying the term "high crimes and misdemeanors" to the conduct of English judges, only included in that category such acts as a judge performs while sitting upon the bench, administering the laws of the realm, either between private persons or between the Crown and the subject. Excepting bribery, there is no case in the Parliamentary law of England which gives color to the idea that the personal misconduct of a judge, *in matters outside of his administration of the law in a court of justice,* was ever considered or charged to constitute an impeachable high crime and misdemeanor.

When the question is asked, by what means the personal misconduct of an English judge, not amounting to a high crime and misdemeanor, is punished, the answer is easy. Prior to the passage in 1701 of the famous Act of Settlement, neither the tenure nor the compensation of English judges rested upon a firm or definite foundation. Hallam tells us that "it had been the practice of the Stuarts, especially in the last years of their dynasty, to dismiss judges, without seeking any other pretence, who showed any disposition to thwart Government in political prosecutions." As the hasty and imperfect Bill of Rights had failed to provide a remedy for that condition of things, it became necessary for the authors of the Act of Settlement to provide that English judges should hold office during good behavior ("*quamdiu se bene gesserint*"), and that they should receive ascertained and established salaries. But it was not forgotten that the remedy by impeachment extended only to high crimes and misdemeanors, which did not embrace personal misconduct. Therefore, a method of removal was provided by address, which was intended to embrace all misconduct not included in the term "high crimes and misdemeanors." In the light of that statement, it will be easier to understand the full purport of that section of the Act of Settlement which provides "that, after the said limitations shall take effect as aforesaid, judges' commissions be made *quamdiu se bene gesserint* and their salaries ascertained and established; *but upon the address of both Houses of Parliament, it may be lawful to remove them.*" Thus, for seventy-five years prior to the severance of the political tie which bound the English colonies in America to the parent state, the twofold method for the removal of Eng-

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lish judges was clearly defined and perfectly understood on both sides of the Atlantic. That twofold method embraced (1) the removal by impeachment for all acts constituting "high crimes and misdemeanors," a term then clearly defined in English Parliamentary law; (2) the removal by address for all lesser acts of personal misconduct not embraced in that term. That such was the general and accepted view, on this side of the Atlantic in 1776, of the English Parliamentary law of impeachment and address, can be put beyond all question by reference to the several State constitutions in which that law reappeared. For instance, the constitution of Pennsylvania of 1776, Article V, section 2, provides that "judges of the Supreme Court, and of the several courts of Common Pleas, shall hold their offices during good behavior. But for any reasonable cause, *which shall not be sufficient ground for impeachment,* the Governor may remove any of them, on the address of two-thirds of each branch of the legislature." The constitution of Delaware of 1792, Article VI, section 2, provides that "the chancellor and the judges of the Supreme Court of Common Pleas shall hold their office during good behavior; but for any reasonable cause, *which shall not be sufficient ground for impeachment,* the Governor may, in his discretion, remove any of them, on the address of two-thirds of all the members of each branch of the legislature." The constitution of South Carolina of 1868, Article VII, section 4, provides that, "for any willful neglect of duty or other reasonable cause, *which shall not be sufficient ground of impeachment,* the Governor shall remove any executive or judicial officer, on the address of two-thirds of each house of the General Assembly." Here are explicit and dogmatic statements of the settled rule of English Parliamentary law that judges may be removed, by impeachment, for those grave acts of judicial misconduct generally known as impeachable "high crimes and misdemeanors," and, by address, for all lesser offences of personal misconduct. As that distinction was so well understood at the time, many of the State constitutions simply presupposed it, without stating it in express terms.

This dual system for the removal of State judges, thus derived from the English constitution, had been in operation in the States for years prior to the meeting of the Federal Convention at Philadelphia in 1787. As a general rule, the framers looked to that source for light when the adoption of a principle of Eng-

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lish constitutional law was concerned. The questions that constantly arose were: In what form has such a principle reappeared in the several States? Are its operation and effect satisfactory therein? Such examples were sometimes taken not as guides, but as warnings. It did not always follow that a principle adapted to the wants of a single State was to be engrafted, without modification, upon the constitution of a Federal State. The debates touching the adoption of impeachment and address, as a double method for the removal of Federal judges, pointedly illustrate that fact, as the Convention, by an almost unanimous vote, resolved to adopt the former and omit the latter. The record is specially clear and direct on that point. When the subject of the removal of Federal judges was reached, "Dickinson moved, as an amendment to Article XI, section 2, after the words 'good behavior,' the words, 'Provided that they may be removed by the Executive on the application by the Senate and House of Representatives.'" [The words of the Act of Settlement are, "but upon the address of both Houses of Parliament it may be lawful to remove them."] "Mr. Gerry seconded the motion. Mr. Gouverneur Morris thought it a contradiction in terms to say that the judges should hold office during good behavior and yet be removable without a trial. Besides, it was fundamentally wrong to subject judges to so arbitrary an authority. Mr. Wilson considers such a provision in the British Government as less dangerous than here; the House of Lords and House of Commons being less likely to concur on the same occasions. Chief-Justice Holt, he remarked, had successively offended, by his independent conduct, both Houses of Parliament. Had this happened at the same time, he would have been ousted. The judges would be in a bad situation, if made to depend on any gust of faction which might prevail in the two branches of our Government. Mr. Randolph opposed the motion, as weakening too much the independence of the judges. Mr. Dickinson was not apprehensive that the legislature, composed of different branches, constructed on such different principles, would improperly unite for the purpose of displacing a judge. On the question of agreeing to Mr. Dickinson's motion, it was negatived. Connecticut, aye; all the other States, present, no."* Thus the attempt to engraft upon our Federal Constitution that provision of the Act of Settlement, heretofore

* Madison Papers, pp. 481-2.

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set forth, was rejected with only one dissenting voice. The result made it plain at once that there would be no way in which a Federal judge could be removed for personal misconduct, not amounting to a high crime and misdemeanor, unless that narrow and well-defined formula could be supplanted by some other phrase wide enough to embrace personal misconduct. In order to accomplish that end, in order to make the single process by impeachment in our Federal Constitution as wide as the double process of impeachment and address in the English, a proposition was made to use the words "to be removable on impeachment for and conviction for *malpractice and neglect of duty*." It being agreed that these expressions were too general, they were stricken out.* A second attempt to accomplish the same end was next made by Mr. Mason, who moved to insert after "bribery," the words "*or maladministration*." "Madison: 'So vague a term will be equivalent to a tenure during the pleasure of the Senate.' Mason withdrew 'maladministration,' and substituted 'other high crimes and misdemeanors against the State.' In the final draft the words 'against the State' were omitted, doubtless as surplusage, and the expressions finally adopted, 'crimes' and 'misdemeanors,' were words which had a well-defined signification in the courts of England and in her colonies, as meaning criminal offence at common (Parliamentary) law."†

In rejecting removal by address, and by limiting the impeachment of Federal judges to offences known as "high crimes and misdemeanors," that ancient formula was adopted by the Convention with the construction which had been given it in the English system, for the good and sufficient reason that, without such construction, it was meaningless. From the outset, the Supreme Court of the United States has held that, when such formulas or "terms of art," taken from the English system, were incorporated into our Federal Constitution, they carried along with them the interpretations which were a part of them. When, in Burr's case, Chief-Justice Marshall was called upon to construe Article III, section 3, which provides that "treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them," etc., he said: "The term is not for the first time applied to treason by the Constitution of the United States. It is a technical term. It is used in a very old statute of that country whose lan-

* Madison Papers, p. 481. † American Law Review, Vol. 16, p. 804.

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guage is our language and whose laws form the substratum of our laws. It is scarcely conceivable that the term was not employed by the framers of our Constitution in the sense which had been affixed to it by those from whom we borrowed it." The same rule has been followed by the Supreme Court until the present day.* It thus appears that, when such immemorial English formulas were imbedded in the Constitution of 1787, their historical meaning and construction went along with them, as completely as if such meaning and construction had been written out at length upon the face of the instrument itself. If that be true, it is self-evident that no subsequent Congressional legislation can change in any way, by addition or subtraction, the definitions embodied in such formulas at the time of their adoption. If the term, "high crimes and misdemeanors," could be subjected to a new Congressional definition, acts which were such in 1787 could be relieved of all criminality, and new acts not then criminal could be added to the list of impeachable offences. So obvious is that principle that the managers, in the case of Andrew Johnson, admitted that "Congress can not define or limit by law that which the Constitution defines in two cases by enumeration, and in others by classification, and of which the Senate is sole judge."

Since the foundation of our Federal system, eight impeachment trials have taken place under the machinery provided for that purpose: that of Blount (1798), that of Pickering (1803), that of Chase (1804), that of Peck (1830), that of Humphreys (1862), that of Johnson (1868), that of Belknap (1876), and that of Swayne (1905). Three of these were political and five judicial impeachments, as those terms are understood in Parliamentary law. Leaving the last out of view, for the moment, in the four preceding judicial impeachments the House of Representatives, in drafting its articles, adhered with the greatest strictness to the English rule, which provides that the judicial acts constituting high crimes and misdemeanors must be committed by the judge, on the bench, while in the actual administration of justice. In the very first case, that of Judge Pickering, who was undoubtedly a drunkard, there was a strong temptation to depart from the rule and to charge him with personal mis-

* See Murray *vs.* The Hoboken Land Co., 18 How., 272; Davidson *vs.* New Orleans, 96 U. S., 97; Smith *vs.* Alabama, 124 U. S., 465; United States *vs.* Wong Kim Ark, 169 U. S., 649.

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conduct off the bench. But the men of that day were too familiar with the then recent past to attempt such an innovation. On the contrary, after charging Pickering with judicial misconduct in an admiralty case, they also charged that he performed certain other acts while sitting on the bench under the influence of liquor: "being then judge of the District Court in and for the District of New Hampshire, *did appear on the bench of said court,* for the purpose of administering justice, in a state of total intoxication, produced by the free and intemperate use of inebriating liquors, and did *then and there,*" etc. Of course no lawyer at all familiar with the rules of pleadings would venture to assert that Pickering was impeached for drunkenness, as such, in the face of the fact that the greatest pains were taken in the drafting of the articles to preclude that idea. In the cases against Judges Chase and Peck, the charges were likewise limited under the English rule to judicial acts performed on the bench, with "a malicious and unlawful" intent. While the case of Humphreys, who was tried in his absence during the Civil War, should have but little weight as a precedent, it gives special emphasis to the rule in question, because of its recognition even under anomalous conditions. In the first place, Humphreys was impeached for treason, and all the acts charged as having been committed off the bench fall under that head. Then, strangely enough, he was charged with judicial misconduct while sitting on the bench of a court of the Confederate States: "In decreeing within said State, and as a judge of said illegal tribunal, the confiscation to the use of said Confederate States of America of property of citizens of the United States, and especially of property of one Andrew Johnson, and one John Catron." Thus, even in the midst of civil war, the idea was dominant that judicial misconduct must occur on the bench in order to render it impeachable.

In the case of Judge Swayne, the House of Representatives, for the first time in our history, departed from the ancient rule, by impeaching a Federal judge for personal misconduct off the bench. Twelve articles were exhibited against the respondent, in five of which the ancient rule was carefully observed. In Articles 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12, impeachable offences were properly charged under the rule which the Constitution prescribes, that is to say, the rule of English Parliamentary law. But, in the first seven articles, he was charged simply with personal misconduct, entirely

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disconnected with the despatch of judicial business on the bench between suitors—such conduct as might have subjected him to removal by address, if proven, under a system embracing that plan of punishment for non-impeachable offences. Upon pleas to the jurisdiction to the first seven articles the question was squarely presented, whether the acts charged therein constituted impeachable crimes, and counsel for the respondent rested their contention upon the historical data with which all constitutional lawyers are supposed to be familiar. In reply, the managers made little, if any, attempt to controvert such data, preferring to rest their answer upon an *ab convenienti* argument, whose burden was that the construction of the Constitution claimed by the defence would, if sound, disclose a grave defect in the Constitution itself. To employ their own language: "The logical conclusion from the contention of respondent's counsel is that, no matter how vile any civil officer of the Government may be, no matter how great the sum total of the individual items of his offending, so long as the offending is not on the bench, or in the active technical conduct of his office, the whole power of the Government is too weak, the arm of the House of Representatives too short, and the judgment of the Senate too puny to reach the offender and protect the public from the vile contamination of his continued presence in office." Even if that statement, which Canon Farrar would have called a "*reductio ad horribile*," be true, it proves absolutely nothing, so far as the point at issue is concerned. If there is a defect in the Constitution, resulting from the deliberate omission by the fathers of removal by address, the only way to cure it is by amendment. Recognizing that fact, Senator Bacon of Georgia, an eminent jurist, the moment the Swayne trial ended, introduced the following joint resolution:

"Resolved, etc. That the following amendment to the Constitution of the United States be proposed to the legislatures of the several States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said legislatures, shall become and be a part of the Constitution and shall be known as Article 16 of the Amendments to the Constitution.

"'All civil officers of the United States, other than the President and Vice-President, shall be removed from office upon the concurrent vote of two-thirds of each House of Congress directing the same, on account of immorality, imbecility, maladministration, misfeasance, or malfeasance in office.'"

HANNIS TAYLOR.

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REMARRIAGE AFTER DIVORCE.

THE PRACTICE OF THE ROMAN CHURCH CONTRASTED WITH ITS THEORY.

BY THE RIGHT REV. WILLIAM CROSWELL DOANE, BISHOP OF ALBANY.

THERE is always more or less confusion attendant upon a debate in a large assembly of men accustomed to think and to speak, to teach and to lay down the law; and when the debate is over, the time comes—as on a battlefield, with the smoke cleared away—to count and carry off the dead and wounded, and to see how the battle fared and what its issue really was. Looking back quietly over the discussions and at the decision of the last General Convention on the subject of remarriage after divorce, there are some dead and wounded things to be carried away, never, I think, to return; while there are some who fought and ran away, and some who fought and did not run away, who will live to fight another day. Meanwhile, unsatisfactory as the issue was—because it is a substitution of polity for principle, because it reaches a result by indirectness and implication, not by positiveness and conviction—it certainly marks, in more ways than one, an advance in the direction of stringent guarding of the sacredness of marriage. When I say "principle," I do not mean what many of us hold, the principle of the indissolubility of marriage, but the principle, which governs very many others, of the sacredness of marriage; and when I say "conviction," I mean the conviction that the evil of frequent and facile divorce in America must be arrested.

The dead and wounded carried away are, I think, in two classes of what Mr. Gladstone would call "cocksure people." I do not believe anybody will undertake again to argue on doctrinal grounds about a canon of discipline. I do not believe anybody will presume to say that anywhere the Protestant Episcopal Church has legislated in a disciplinary way that marriage is indis-

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soluble. I do not believe anybody will stand up, like Cato, with his "*insuper censeo*" (or, rather, these people say "*insuper scio*"), and say that our Lord plainly allowed remarriage to the innocent party divorced for the adultery of the other. I have not the slightest doubt that an increasing number of people will hold the Prayer-Book teaching, that the Church contemplates the marriage of one woman to one man until they are parted by death; and I have no doubt that a decreasing number of people will believe that adultery dissolves the bond. But I think textual exegesis and individual convictions will play less part hereafter in the discussion. After all, the General Convention is concerned with discipline and not with doctrine. And, however deeply doctrine may enter into our beliefs in connection with marriage, the question of remarriage after divorce is a question of discipline. I want to deal with this great question on this ground. The present canon, passed at the General Convention, virtually contains a doctrinal germ, namely, that adultery dissolves marriage. If a canon had been passed not only forbidding the clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church to remarry any divorced person, but compelling them to refuse the sacraments after remarriage, that would have contained a doctrinal germ, and it would be, what the present canon is, an interpretation of Scripture and the definite decision of a question which has never yet been decided either by enactment of council, or by consent of scholars, or by uniform and universal catholic use. Just because of this difference for sixteen centuries, because of the division between East and West, because of the difference among manuscripts, because of the disagreement of scholars, the true ground, the safe ground, is the ground of uncertainty; and because of this uncertainty, the Church is free, and I think bound, to say that she will remarry no divorced person on any ground whatever, lest she should go against the Master's will; and also to say that she will not cut off from the sacraments of salvation the one person whose marriage was, perhaps, not positively prohibited by Him.

I know this is called cowardly and inconsistent. It is not cowardly, because true courage is that which "dares do all that may become" a Christian. It is not inconsistent, because it consists with the actual facts of history, as they stand out in the survey of the Church in all the centuries and countries of the world.

Two things need, it seems to me, to be made clear: first, that

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no remarriage ought to be solemnized by *any* ecclesiastical body or sanctioned by civil law, except to the innocent party in a suit for adultery. Slowly but surely I believe all the Protestant churches are drawing towards this conclusion. When they reach it, they will at least not have gone beyond the Scriptural ground. And once they reach it, they will be able to influence divorce legislation in the States to this same position. Meanwhile, because no State law can compel, or can do more than allow, a clergyman to officiate, remarriages other than this will have no ecclesiastical sanction.

The other thing which needs clear understanding is the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church upon the whole question. That Church is in a perfectly different position towards this whole subject from any other religious body in the world, because she claims two things: first, the power to annul a marriage, or, rather, to declare it void *ab initio;* and, secondly, the power to dispense with certain hindrances to marriage. Stated in practical terms, the Roman Church both creates and does away with impediments to marriage. I am a bit anxious to make myself clear in regard to this matter. I confess to a feeling of more or less uncertainty about my own position, because, on the one hand, with much kindness of expression, I have been accused of holding the Roman and the Rigorist theory; and, on the other hand, with equal kindness, Roman Catholic laymen and clergymen have questioned the accuracy of a statement which I made in the address to my own Convention, that the Roman Church refused divorce, but "multiplied possibilities of remarriage by innumerable grounds of dispensation and countless definitions of prenuptial sin." It would be more accurate to say "prenuptial impediments."

Now, let us face the facts squarely. Rome takes a tremendous responsibility in both these directions. How does she discharge it? She claims that she does not recognize divorce, and it is claimed for her that she holds as a doctrine that marriage is indissoluble. Technically and in terms this is true; but, to all intents and purposes, there are infinitely more grounds with her for the remarriage of one party with husband or wife still living, than are dreamed of in our theology or in our legislation. Often as divorces are spoken of as occurring in the history of England and of France before the Reformation, they were not dissolutions of the marriage tie, technically speaking, but declarations by the

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courts of the Church that the marriage was null and void from the beginning. For instance, when Louis XII of France wanted to get rid of a wife to whom he had been married for twenty-two years, that he might marry a young and wealthy widow, he pleaded with the Pope that his wife was his fourth cousin, that she was deformed, that her father had been his godfather, and the plea was backed by considerations of money, of gifts of land, of a French dukedom to the Pope's illegitimate son, Cardinal Cæsar Borgia; and, within a year, his marriage of twenty-two years was declared never to have been a marriage, a dispensation was granted, and he was, so to speak, married to Anne of Brittany.

There is as striking an instance of this sort of thing in the multi-matrimonial story of Henry VIII of England, who only had to resort to beheading, as a means of getting rid of his wives, in two instances out of the six. No one, of course, apologizes for the bestialities and the brutalities of this famous King; but it seems to me unmistakably clear that he used as a means for gratifying his passions the ecclesiastical system under which he had been trained, and with which (and particularly with the instance just mentioned) he was perfectly familiar. His original marriage to Catherine was a violation not only of the law of the Church, but of the law of God, because she was his brother's widow; but the Pope had dispensed with the law and allowed the marriage, and, in spite of Henry's own protest that it was not lawful, and of opposition both public and private, they were, so to speak, married. And then, because of a flaw in the form of dispensation, or because it was held that the Pope could not dispense with the law of God, the marriage was declared null and void, not by the Pope, but by the Church, along strictly Roman lines. His marriage with Jane Seymour was made possible by a dispensation, Roman though not from Rome, before he beheaded Anne Boleyn; and he married Catherine Howard because, by a dispensation strictly along Roman lines, his marriage with Anne of Cleves was declared null and void, on the ground that he had never given his "inward consent." If it is claimed that the Pope did not grant this dispensation, it must be remembered that, in those days, "*L'église c'est moi*" had not been pronounced, and the secret of the possibility of these performances lay in what I have called the "innumerable grounds of dispensation and countless definitions of prenuptial impediments." The same thing is

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true of Napoleon's marriage to Marie Louise of Austria: so far as I can find any full statement of the facts, his marriage with Josephine was annulled by an ecclesiastical council composed of Cardinals and Bishops, on the ground that the nuptial blessing given at the marriage lacked the formalities prescribed by the canon law, namely, the presence of the priest of the parish and of witnesses, with a further reason added, namely, a lack of consent on Napoleon's part. The Archbishop of Vienna performed the proxy marriage in the Church of the Augustines, a dispensation having been granted to allow the ceremony to take place in Lent on the ground of this annulment. Twenty-seven Cardinals were present afterward at the civil ceremony of his marriage at St.-Cloud, but thirteen absented themselves from the religious ceremony which was celebrated afterward, with solemn ceremonial, in the Court Gallery of the Louvre, by the Cardinal Grand Almoner of France, assisted by the Grand Almoner of Italy. And, later on, the baptism of the King of Rome was solemnized in Nôtre Dame by the Cardinal Grand Almoner, twenty Cardinals and one hundred Archbishops and Bishops having been, it is said, present in the sanctuary at the service. And, within our own memory, a dispensation was given by the Pope himself, by means of which the Duke of Aosta married his own niece.

Still more recently, a marriage was made possible in the city of New York by virtually annulling, on technical grounds (that the husband was unbaptized), what had been counted and considered by both parties a perfectly legal marriage. That, of course, was not technically a divorce, but it amounted to the same thing, and was granted upon grounds on which no court in the universe would have thought of a divorce. A case came to my own knowledge, on undoubted authority, of a young girl, a member of the Episcopal Church, who, against the warnings of her parents and her pastor, obtained a divorce on the ground of desertion. She then became engaged to a young Roman Catholic, and, finding that she could not be married in her own Church or by a Roman priest on the strength of that divorce, she was received into the Roman Church, because the priest told her that her marriage was null and void inasmuch as the husband had never been baptized. In the Providence of God the man died before she could marry him, but she took these preliminary steps under Roman advisement and with the marriage by a Roman Catholic priest in view.

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Now, when one goes back from concrete instances to abstract facts, I confess one gets confused. I have carefully gone through "The History of the Council of Trent," by Pietro Polano, translated by Nathaniel Brent, published in London in 1620, and also "The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent," in Le Plat's edition, published at Antwerp in 1779. And I have also carefully read Gury's "Compendium of Moral Theology," and a book which is called "The Ecclesiastical Dictionary," by the Rev. John Thein, which has the imprimatur of the Roman Catholic Archbishop of New York and the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cleveland. So that I have done what in me lies to get accurate and authoritative information. Still, I confess myself confused, and convinced of the fact that, when, in controversy, a defender of the Roman system is cornered by one difficulty, he can escape through some other opening. Still, this is what I find, after sitting under a shower of anathemas so thick and so diverse that if one escapes here, one is caught there. One is anathematized by Trent, who denies that marriage is one of the seven sacraments instituted by Christ Himself; who advocates polygamy; who asserts that the Church cannot dispense from or add to the Levitical prohibitions by decreeing diriment impediments, or that a marriage celebrated but not consummated cannot be dissolved by a solemn profession of religion by either of the parties; or who says that the Church has erred in saying that the bond cannot be dissolved by the adultery of either party and that the innocent party cannot be remarried, or that the Church has erred in allowing separation for many causes from bed and board; or who says that the clergy or the members of religious orders can marry if they find that they have not the gift of chastity; or who says that the married estate is to be preferred to the celibate estate; or who says that the prohibition of solemnization of marriage at certain times of the year is superstitious and tyrannical; or who condemns the benedictions and other ceremonies which the Church uses; or who says that matrimonial causes do not belong to ecclesiastical tribunals. It seems pretty difficult to escape from being anathematized under some one or other of these various heads.

In Thein's "Ecclesiastical Dictionary," I find the following statements, which show, among other things, how extremely difficult it is to bring home even a statement of fact in regard to the Roman attitude towards this question of divorce:

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"Even in the West, we must admit there has been more than once, in several countries, especially in epochs of ignorance or moral weakness, unfortunate retrogressions in handling this question of divorce. Through ignorance or through condescension to the often violent demands of the powerful, several writers, several prelates, even several particular councils have sanctioned or permitted divorce in case of adultery. But history proves that it was always against the will of the Apostolic See. The Pope never ceased to maintain the sacred indissolubility of the family, not as subservient to his own fancies or interests, but according to the laws and rights which he received from God and the Apostles through tradition. Indeed, tradition grants to the Roman pontiff the right to dissolve under certain circumstances a marriage contracted in right but not confirmed by fact: and tradition grants the same pontifical power to absolve from the solemn vows of profession made in a religious order. Let us remark, however, these are very peculiar cases and very rare, five or six perhaps per year in the entire world. There are, it must be again admitted, cases of nullity which, duly established by ecclesiastical authority after very rigorous inquiry, lead to sentence of separation, not of divorce, because the marriage never did exist. These cases are equally rare."

And at the close of the article comes this paragraph:

"The few failings which were noted from 1803 to 1805 in some French officialties, especially in that of Paris, on the subject of the divorce of Napoleon I, have absolutely nothing to do with the matter. Rome never had anything to do with the second union of the Emperor. And Pope Leo X in his Encyclical '*Arcanum*,' of February 19, 1880, affirms that Pius VII most courageously resisted Napoleon, who, exalted by his successes and by the grandeur of his empire, was deaf to the commands of the pontiff; and Pius VII himself, in 1813, writing to Josephine, Napoleon's first wife, says to her, in speaking of the Emperor, 'Your husband.'"

And then follows, in the same "Ecclesiastical Dictionary" from which I have quoted, this list of diriment impediments which nullify a marriage:

"Clandestine marriage without the presence of the authorized priest and two witnesses; lack of reason or proper age; the solemn vows of chastity implicitly contained in the reception of the subdiaconate, the diaconate and priesthood, and taken by members of religious orders; proximity of relationship; disparity of religion between a Catholic and an infidel; absence of free consent, that is, when marriage is forced on any one by violence or unjust menace of a serious nature, fraud, error, etc."

The important question, it seems to me, is not the ability of Rome to defend herself against merely verbal criticisms, but the

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impossibility of defence against the immoralities resulting from the definitions of impediments, the declarations of nullity and the dispensations for marriage afterward, often only discovered and declared, and used as reasons and excuses for getting rid of an unhappy marriage and finding a way for entering upon another. Even if the fifteen diriment impediments are reduced to eight or nine, there is much room for most dangerous use of them: the introduction, for instance, of spiritual affinity by which sponsors cannot marry their godchildren, nor parents marry the sponsors of the child nor the person who baptizes it; the definition of clandestinity in force in certain places in the United States, making a marriage invalid without the presence of the parish priest and two witnesses. And again, whatever ruling the Church might make or has made against the marriage of converts to heathen, and however delicate and difficult the question is, historically speaking, about the marriage of the unbaptized, the declaration that a marriage between a baptized and an unbaptized person is null and void, used, as it was used a year ago in New York, may be and has been as grave a scandal as any of the divorces among people prominent in social circles.

Dealing, then, not with abstract theories, but with the concrete practical problem here in America, it seems to me really true to say that Rome justifies and practically sanctions what amounts to divorce, although it is not called so, in the freest possible way, unless both parties to the previous marriage are Roman Catholics.

According to the Roman Church, marriage being a sacrament, and no one being able to receive the grace of a sacrament unless he is a Catholic Christian, it follows that the marriages of persons who are not Roman Catholics are not sacramental and have no sacramental grace or sanctity connected with them. They are simply legal contracts which the law creates and which the same law can dissolve. Some Roman theologians hold that, if both parties are baptized, their marriage is Christian marriage, though they have no grace of the sacrament unless they are Roman Catholics; but the modern Roman fashion is to rebaptize all converts to Romanism, and so to invalidate all baptism but Roman baptism. So that even when both parties to a marriage are baptized persons, unless they are both Roman Catholics, the marriage is merely a legal contract. Whatever difference there may be as to the theory, the practical fact is that Rome regards

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as dissoluble the marriages of all unbaptized persons, marriages between an unbaptized person and a baptized Christian who is not a Roman Catholic, marriages between a Roman Catholic and a non-Romanist, baptized or unbaptized, which has been contracted without dispensation. If this is true, and I believe it cannot be denied, it certainly follows that Rome cannot proclaim herself as the special guardian of the institution of marriage.

Gury's "Compendium of Moral Theology" contains 110 pages, closely printed in double columns, on marriage, 42 dealing with impediments and 15 with dispensations. They do not, of course, differ in statement from the other authorities, but in the application and elaborate explanation of these statements some curious things occur. He gives the fifteen diriment impediments, "*in versibus expressa,*" explained and commented on at great length, opening innumerable opportunities for the parting and remarrying of people; and he winds up a list of just causes for dispensation from these impediments with twelve instances, three of them certainly somewhat suggestive, namely, "*excellentia meritorum erga Ecclesiam, conservatio bonorum in illustri familia, larga eleemosyna in pia opera refundenda.*"

Thein speaks of these questionable dispensations as very infrequent. But Dr. Fulton sustains a statement which he makes—"The Court of Rome, for a sufficient fee, not only allows marriage with a deceased wife's sister, but, while it professes to prohibit marriage with a third cousin's widow, as we say, it readily permits any man who can afford the stipulated fee to marry his niece or even his aunt,"—with this note, which he quotes from Smith's "Dictionary of Christian Antiquities": "Under the shadow of the system of dispensations, the practice of marriage with nieces and sisters-in-law has become once more not unfrequent." Cardinal Guibert, complaining that the infractions of the rules as to intermarrying within the prohibited degrees have become alarming in their number, says: "Marriages between uncles and nieces, between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, which used to be unknown or almost unknown, have multiplied in these latter times to a degree which stuns us, inasmuch as it is a grievous weakening of the practice of the Christian faith." The Archbishop can complain of the evil, but he cannot overcome it, and he acknowledges that this state of things is worse in the rest of France than in Paris.

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The late Bishop of London, Creighton, in presenting a report of the Committee of Convocation on Divorce says:

"Attempts to take the letter of the mediæval law, and to infer from it that there was a corresponding practice, are very often exceedingly misleading. It is not that the Church at any period whatever had any doubt that marriage was indissoluble, but it seems to me that there is no point upon which the Western Church displayed such incompetence (for I can call it by no other name) as its dealing with the question of marriage. Marriage was a matter which was left entirely in the hands of the Church. Ultimately, as a matter of fact, the State had to interpose because the Church had reduced matters to such extraordinary confusion. While it is perfectly true to say that a valid marriage properly contracted was indissoluble, yet, during the greater part of the Middle Ages, it was almost impossible to say what a valid marriage was and how a valid marriage could be contracted."

Really the expression used by the present Bishop of Bristol, Dr. Brown, is none too strong: "The artificial barriers to marriage which needed the Pope's dispensation were so numerous and so complicated that the lawyers must have been dull who could not find some excuse for getting a marriage declared void because of the absence of dispensation." A modern historian, once himself a Roman Catholic, has put the matter thus flippantly but not untruly: "The emperors, kings and dukes kept an Italian conjurer to turn wrong into right. The conjurer could legalize illegal marriages, and if they turned out ill, he could unmake them."

I am quite aware that this paper is open to criticism, to controversy and to contradiction. I honestly believe that, so far as the practical effect of Rome's dealing with the whole question is concerned, whatever honor must be paid to the broad declaration which Trent made about the indissolubility of marriage, history has shown, in the past and in the present, that what I said is true, that "the multiplied possibilities of remarriage by innumerable grounds of dispensation and countless definitions of prenuptial impediment" dilute, if they do not destroy, the value of the declaration, and are equivalent to the non-Roman or Protestant recognition of divorce from the bond.

WM. CROSWELL DOANE.

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THE COMING CRASH IN RUSSIA.

BY KARL BLIND.

I.

"*Ça ira!*" ("It will succeed!") was the frequent answer of Franklin during his mission at Paris, to those Frenchmen who doubted the possibility of a final triumph of the American War of Independence, with its often-changing ups and downs. In later years, during the great French Revolution, Franklin's expression was embodied in a well-known terroristic song dinned into the ears of many a victim of popular wrath.

"*Ça ira!*" may be said of the present constitutional struggle in Russia, in spite of repeated reactionary counterstrokes. And let the Tsar bethink himself in time, lest, in an uncontrollable storm of fury among downtrodden classes and races, scenes should be enacted which all friends of humanity would see prevented.

Russia's Grand Inquisitor, the head of the Holy Synod of the Orthodox Church, means to bind the Monarch to the maintenance of strict despotic rule in the name of the oath he has taken as "Autokrator." Against the Tsar's violation of the oath he took as constitutional ruler of the Grand-Duchy of Finland, the clericalist Tartuffe has nothing to say. But to grant a measure of representative institutions to a people which has become sick of arbitrary imprisonments; sick of the horrors of Siberia for political suspects and patriotic offenders; sick of the infamous massacres of Blagovestchensk, Kisheneff and Gomal; sick of the corruption and malversation in every branch of the civil and military administration; sick of a mendacious diplomacy which is loathed by the whole civilized world; sick of the foul and positively criminal intrigues in the concerns of neighboring nations; sick unto death of an aggressive, never satisfied, ambition which results in inefficiency and in horribe catastrophes—to grant a

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measure of representative institutions as a means of warding off further unbearable evils of this kind, that, forsooth, would be an unforgivable dereliction of monarchical duty, in the eyes of the holy man of the Orthodox Church.

"By Thy unlimited will," the heartless clericalist monster writes, "Thou hast sent out to the war hundreds of thousands of sons of the Orthodox Church. Thou hast the right, as Autocrat and as the Anointed of God, to do everything Thou likest in accordance with Thy Wisdom and Thy heart's desire—to send them unto death, or to show them Thy grace. Thou hast the right to let Thy Mercy or Thy Anger be felt by any one Thou dealest with. But do not forget, O Tsar, that Thou hast not the right to break Thy coronation oath, sworn in the Uspenski Church, when Thy sublime countenance was shining with rays of illumination, and Thou didst bear the symbols of irresponsible power given to Thee by Thy ancestors!"

It was for the object of undoing the effect of the wise and sensible letter of Prince Trubetzkoi that the sinister mouthpiece of clericalism addressed himself to Nicholas II. A very plain warning had been given to the Monarch by the Prince. The Prince reminded the Tsar of a famous historical saying: *"Ce n'est plus une émeute; c'est une revolution!"*

Twice that historical saying has been followed by an issue fatal to a monarch who would not listen to warnings until it was too late. In the first instance, it was the Duke of Larochefoucauld Liancourt who uttered the words in question to Louis XVI at the storming of the Bastille, in 1789. In the second instance, they were repeated by Marshal Marmont to Charles X on July 28, 1830. "I had the honor," the Marshal wrote in his report, "to inform Your Majesty that the crowds of people who disturbed the quietude of the capital had yesterday been dispersed by force. To-day they assemble anew—more numerously and more threateningly than before. This is no longer a seditious tumult *(émeute)*. It is a Revolution. Now it is the highest time for Your Majesty to take measures for the restoration of peace."

But it was too late—the Bourbon dynasty fell.

II.

Prince Sergius Trubetzkoi, who has given to Nicholas II such terrible but timely warning as to the danger that would befall

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the person of the Monarch himself, if no Parliament were granted, comes from a noteworthy ancestry. His family hail from the former ruling Grand-Dukes of Lithuania. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Trubetzkois were already known as favoring the cause of progress and enlightenment. The present holder of the name is one of the wealthiest landowners in Russia, and one of the most highly cultured members of the aristocracy. He is distinguished for his efforts to raise the sadly neglected educational status of the masses, whom Tsardom purposely leaves in a condition of ignorance useful to absolutistic rule. He resisted the reactionary measures of Plehve. He supported Schipoff, the well-known organizer of the Zemstvo movement. As President or Nobiliary Marshal of the Provincial Diet of Moscow, he has exhibited signal courage. After the recent disturbances among the Army Reservists, who refused obedience to the authorities and committed excesses on the Crown domains, Prince Trubetzkoi personally went to the Tsar to explain to him the great perils of the situation.

Some details as to the military rising of 1825, in which an ancestor of Prince Trubetzkoi took a prominent part, will here be in place. It was after the wars successfully waged by Germany and Russia against Napoleon I that much commotion arose among the educated civic classes, as well as among the army officers, in the Tsar's Empire. The Russian troops had passed and repassed, in 1813-15, through Germany and France, and seen and heard there a great deal which formed an enormous contrast to the state of things in their own country. The officers, at all events, became deeply impressed. From that time, Liberal ideas began to spread. Gradually men bethought themselves of acting on the lines of the German *Jugend-Bund,* and of similar secret societies, which had worked for the overthrow of the Corsican tyrant, and which then still endeavored to forward the cause of national and constitutional aspirations in the Fatherland.

The first attempt of that kind in Russia was made at the headquarters of Prince Wittgenstein, in Lithuania, the ancestral home of the Trubetzkois. Two brothers Murawieff were the prime movers in so far as, going from Lithuania to St. Petersburg, they sounded other officers belonging to the Imperial Guard, among whom they found a ready response. Nothing of any importance occurred, however, until Colonel Pestel, an adjutant of Prince

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Wittgenstein, became the virtual leader. Of German descent, but born in Russia, he had been educated at Dresden, and afterwards became an Imperial page in St. Petersburg. His father was Governor-General of Siberia. Having bravely fought in the campaigns against France, young Pestel rapidly rose in rank. It is supposed that he was the founder, in 1817, of the clandestine "League of Well-Being," also called "The Worthy Sons of the Fatherland." A number of those conspirators were by no means opposed to the dynastic principle. They rather, like Stein, Hardenberg, Gneisenau, Arndt and Jahn in Germany, sought to save monarchy in spite of itself.

Soon, however, that League was dissolved, and a new one founded, as "The Society of Public Welfare." Its statutes were copied from those of the German *Jugend-Bund.* French, German and English ideas of progress were the theme of discussion. The majority of the members were in favor of the emancipation of the serfs. Admirals, Generals and a number of other officers, with some writers, were banded together in this secret society.

There were two chief branches of the secret "Society of Public Welfare": one in the North, with St. Petersburg and Moscow as head centres; and one in the South, with Kieff and some other towns in the same position. In this new Society, Paul Pestel and Nikita Murawieff became the leaders. Presently, almost the whole staff of Field-Marshal Prince Wittgenstein joined the conspiracy. Among the highest nobility, in the upper circles of the civil administration, even in the close surroundings of the Court, there were associates.

Pestel, a man of unshakable courage and energy, carried in the Society of the South a resolution to the effect that, after the overthrow of Autocracy, the serfs should be emancipated, with a grant of freehold land. In the discussions as to whether a constitution on the English pattern should be adopted, he conceded to those who were in favor of it that this might be good; but, for his part, he "would prefer the American Constitution, which would be good for everybody, not only for lords and merchants." He thought that by physical force alone could an absolute ruler be made to cede a portion of his power.

At St. Petersburg, the reconstructed Society had at first Prince Trubetzkoi at its head; then Nicholas Murawieff and Prince Obolenski. I pass over some other secret associations, such as

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the "United Slavs," and a Polish League which was brought into connection with the Society of Pestel.

Pestel was at the head of a regiment which was held to follow him wherever he would lead it. The plan was to wait for the day when Alexander I would be at Taganrog for the manœuvres. On that occasion, the Tsar, Prince Wittgenstein and some Generals who kept with the Court were to be arrested. A fortress was to be seized, and then the signal for the Revolution at large was to be waited for in the shape of an insurrection of the friends at St. Petersburg and Warsaw.

The full amalgamation between the two branches in the North and the South, which Pestel sought to bring about, was, unfortunately, hampered by many difficulties; the men in the North being not so fully imbued with democratic ideas as those in the South. Still, a number of those in the North declared that if the Tsar could not be induced to accept constitutional terms, nothing would be left but to *banish the whole Imperial family.* In the later Report of the Judicial Inquiry which dealt with the events of 1825, it is asserted that Colonel Schweikoffski even proposed sending men to Taganrog to take the life of the Tsar. Artamon Murawieff, the Report asserts, offered himself for the deed.

Whilst the rising had been planned for the year 1826, Alexander I unexpectedly died on December 1st, 1825. This in great measure disconcerted the plan. Yet, the equally unexpected publication of the Act of Resignation of the real heir presumptive, Constantine, which for a short time threw Government affairs into confusion, seemed to be a help to the conspirators. On December 26th, 1825, they rose in arms in the capital. A few days before, a number of them, such as Prince Trubetzkoi, Ryleieff the poet, Bestujeff, Prince Obolenski, Prince Rostoffski, young Prince Odoeffski—an officer of the Horse Guards who kept them informed of what was going on in the Palace—had met at night for concerting action. They hoped that, in presence of a military insurrection, Nicholas could be forced into the acceptance of constitutional terms; if not, into a renunciation of the Crown. In the latter case, a provisional Government was to be set up, in which Prince Trubetzkoi would occupy a prominent post. A Constitutional Monarchy was the aim, with two Houses of Parliament.

On the day of the outbreak of the Revolution, St. Petersburg was filled with cries for a constitution. A portion of the Guards

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and several companies of the Marines rose against Nicholas I. During this insurrection, shots were fired against the new Emperor himself, when he attempted to bring these troops back to obedience. But for the energy of Prince Eugene of Würtemberg, the day might have been decided against Nicholas I.

There is a Memoir of Baron Korff, published by the order of Nicholas himself, in which it is said that the Tsar was unable on that day, from morning till late at night, to partake of any repast, and that he never went to bed the whole night. He remained up in uniform, personally examining the chief prisoners. The Empress Alexandra had, from the excitement, "lost her voice and all strength." "All the Imperial children passed the night in two rooms, as in a bivouac."

In the South, sanguinary events took place in the mean time. Pestel, together with some of his chief associates, had been arrested in consequence of a secret denunciation. However, by the bold action of other officers, who went forth with some companies, these leaders were freed, and then a battle followed between the insurgent troops and the division of General Geismar. One of the Murawieffs fell. Another, severely wounded, was made a prisoner. Thus the movement in the South came to an end.

Pestel, Sergius Murawieff, Ryleieff, Bestujeff-Rumin, and Kahoffiski suffered death on the gallows. Prince Trubetzkoi was, at the prayer of his wife, spared from death, and carried off to Siberia with eighty-three other leaders. The insurgent soldiers of the Guards were sent against the mountain tribes of the Caucasus. Nicholas Turguenieff distinctly asserts that the most abominable atrocities were committed against the prisoners:

"The answers and the declarations of the accused of 1826 resemble too much those which were formerly drawn out by the system of torture not to have been the result of analogous means. . . . The Minister of War having been informed that Colonel Pestel had just been led into St. Petersburg, the first words which came from the Minister's lips were *an order to subject him to the torture.* I purposely use here a general expression, not wishing, by a more precise statement, to add disgust to horror."

III.

Such were the means by which Nicholas I came to the throne as an Autocrat. How now about Nicholas II, who once declared that he would walk in the footsteps of this ancestor of his?

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No longer has the present Tsar only a class of dissatisfied nobles and military officers to contend with. True, the great land-owners, the aristocratic heads and the general members of the Provincial Diets, are decidedly against him; but the University students, the medical men, the engineers, the mass of public writers, the working-classes in the towns, the village teachers even, are now actively in the movement for the establishment of a Parliament. In many provinces of Old Russia, agrarian discontent and riots add to the critical situation; at the same time, there is unrest in Finland, in Poland, aye, even in those south-western provinces of European Russia, where there is a Ruthene-Slav population of a type distinct from the Muscovites, and with an oppressed language of its own. Nay, in the Armenian province of the Tsar's Empire there are signs of danger. Everywhere there is discontent or open revolt.

Among the strange things which have latterly happened in Russia more than once, a kind of demonstration must be mentioned which gives peculiar importance to the timely warning Prince Trubetzkoi recently addressed to the Tsar. At Kieff, which is the most ancient capital, there is a "Literary Society." In a largely attended meeting of that Society, speeches were made by several University Professors on the given theme: "What Russia Is In Want Of." The audience was composed of about 800 persons; among them, many lawyers, even Crown Attorneys; a great number of the provincial bureaucracy; some officers of the army; ten University Professors, and various notable citizens. All the speakers came to the conclusion that "only a constitution can save us."

But more extraordinary than anything was this: "At the mention," so the fully authenticated report says, "of the name of Balmasheff, the assassin of Sipiaguine, those present honored the memory of Balmasheff, who was hanged, by rising from their seats! Lastly, the health of Sassanoff, the slayer of Plehve, was drunk after the lectures. Lawyers and officers, applauding the toast, raised their glasses as well."

A similar demonstration occurred afterwards again at one of the greatest political banquets at St. Petersburg itself, where medical men, professors, public writers, engineers, and other men of the cultured classes had foregathered. There, too, the whole assembly rose in honor of Sassanoff and his associate. It is always

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so in times of turmoil when men are driven to despair by an unbearable despotism.

IV.

Professor von Reussner, who for years taught Public Law and Criminal Jurisprudence at the Russian University of Tomsk, has expressed the conviction that, "if the Tsar does not resolve upon granting a constitution, thus giving the Russian people the minimum of what even the Japanese possess, a Revolution is inevitable." Being asked from whom the Revolution is to proceed, seeing that the middle class, the "Third Estate," is not so developed in Russia, he answered that in his country it was not the "Third Estate" but the "First Estate," so to say, from which the initiative has come—namely, from all those who possess property and intellectual culture. He went on:

"By nature the Russians are not revolutionists. We are much too heavy and slow-going as a race; and it is a perfect wonder that things have come to such a pass, that the revolutionary flames are bursting forth in every direction. The war has effected this miracle. All classes of the nation are struck most heavily by this war. The towns and the rural communities are deeply affected by it to the same degree of suffering."

He then describes how, until lately, the Russian landowner was rather averse to ideas of political opposition. The war has roused him. His laborers are taken from him by military mobilization. The wages he has to pay rise correspondingly in the absence of sufficient hands. His produce cannot be disposed of, as the Army Administration has seized hold of all the railway trains. There is a dangerous fermentation among the peasantry, threatening the life and the property of the landowner. Industry, too, is paralyzed among the manufacturing class and its workmen. There is great fear as to the impossibility of maintaining the gold standard, which is but artificially kept up by continual loans abroad. Family life has become terribly disturbed, the upper ten thousand being now also drawn into the military vortex. Any one going to the Far East looks upon his forced departure as the probable end of his life; for it is generally held that what happens in that distant region is no longer regular warfare, but *mere massacre.* "*Hence all Russia is filled with hatred of this* war, and of the political state of things which has brought it about?"

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"Down with the war! Down with the Autocracy!" is a cry heard from one end of the Empire to the other. Desertions increase; chiefly among Poles and Jews, which latter in Russia are still reckoned as a separate nationality, and in various provinces are thickly settled together.

Even among the backward part of the *mujiks,* who have hitherto only cared for questions concerning land tenure, the agitation for popular representation in Parliament has begun to make its mark. The colossal strike movement among the working-class at St. Petersburg and in other industrial centres, on whose activity depends the supply of the Army and Navy, is another grave sign of the situation, all the more so because its leaders have also joined the call for the establishment of a Parliament, and of all the other rights of civic freedom, as well as for full political amnesty and the recall of the exiles.

Though manufacturing industry has latterly been more developed in Russia proper, its chief centres are in the western provinces—in what Tsardom is pleased to call the "Vistula Department"—in other words in Poland. There are several distinct groups of malcontents in that ancient Polish Kingdom or Republic. They are: the National Democratic party; the so-called party of Reconciliation ("Ugodowcy"); and the Socialist League. All these actually wish well to the arms of the Japanese enemies of Tsardom. Various publications and manifestations of this sufficiently indicate those sentiments more or less strongly. The National Democrats and the Socialists speak openly in this sense. The Party of Reconciliation, which in the beginning advised greater caution, at the same time refrained carefully from anything that could be supposed to be in favor of Russia. Of late that party has confined itself to demands of reform, whilst the Democrats and the Socialists have organized demonstrations of the most energetic kind.

During a conflict between Polish workmen and Cossacks at Warsaw, a short time ago, the Chief of the Police, Nolken, received a blow on his head; whereupon shots were fired by the Cossacks, and three workmen were killed, sixteen wounded. Among the crowd, cries were uttered: "Down with Absolutism! Long live Poland!" At the departure of regular soldiers and Reservists, the most tumultuous scenes have repeatedly taken place at the stations. The Russian authorities have been engaged

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since in "purifying" the Railway Administration from Polish officials. Of the Reservists, many thousands have escaped across the frontier, into Austria-Hungary. At Lublin, where a kinematograph of the Russo-Japanese war was shown, the march of the Japanese across the Yalu was received with cries of "Long live Japan! Bravo, Japan!" The representation was then suddenly stopped. Ever since, many Polish towns have afforded the same spectacle of riot and bloody encounters with the Cossacks, who, as a race apart, have always been used against both Muscovites and other nationalities, like the Finns and Poles.

Even the most moderate Polish party, headed by the Catholic Bishop of Warsaw and Count Tyszkiewicz, have handed significant demands to the Government at St. Petersburg. A meeting for that purpose, composed of 105 persons of notable position, was held in the palace of the Count. The resolutions adopted call for the reintroduction of the Polish language in schools, in courts of justice, and in Government offices; the reestablishment of the right of Poles to be appointed to public offices in the Kingdom of Poland; religious toleration for Catholics and Uniates; self-administration for the towns, and the introduction of Provincial Diets (Zemstvos) in Poland, with simultaneous maintenance of the existing Polish village communities.

V.

On the furthest confines of the Empire, in its Armenian provinces, there has recently been founded a "Revolutionary National Armenian Federation," which aims at independence from the rule of the Tsar. In those Russian provinces, the Armenian race is in reality in the majority, though intermixed, here and there, with Tatar villages.

The Russian Government has once more exhibited its tyrannical character by the recent lawless seizure of Armenian Church property for the benefit of the Orthodox Russian Church. Hence, deep dissatisfaction in that region, even as in Poland and Finland. An organization of national and popular forces has been the result, which has mapped out the whole Armenian district of Russia for military preparation by means of Rifle Clubs; as well as for the administration of justice by "People's Tribunals," to which the Armenian peasantry resort in cases of litigation and for raising the educational status of the masses.

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A "physical force" or terroristic branch of this Armenian Federation deals mercilessly with the most hated tools of the Tsar's Government, and with spies and traitors. Recently, its "Committee of National Defence" has issued a manifesto against the participation of Armenians in the war in the Far East, on the side of Russia. If the Tsar should order a mobilization among those subjects of his, lively occurrences may be expected of the same kind as in Poland.

Meanwhile, a great deal of violent action has been going on in that southeastern quarter of the Empire, both on the part of the Armenian Federationists, and of the Russian Government. Thousands of malcontents have been arrested; a number of them exiled to northern Departments; others kept imprisoned. Dragonnades—Cossackades, so to say—in the style of Louis XIV of France, have also been used by way of an "execution," about 100 to 200 Cossacks being quartered for some months upon Armenian villages where outbreaks against the Russian authorities had taken place. As another means of overcoming Armenian resistance, rumors were spread by Muscovite agents that the Armenians meant to massacre the Tatars settled among them. But the hope of thus getting the Tatars to "take measures for their own security" has so far been foiled. They saw through the dirty trick and remained quiet, not being molested by the Armenians, among whom they live.

Look wherever we may, the walls of the great prison-house called the Tsar's Empire, are showing cracks and signs of crumbling.

In the Nobiliary Diet of the Province of Twer an event has recently occurred which may find imitation in other Provincial Assemblies, and which is calculated to paralyze the Departmental Administration in the matter of taxation. A new Marshal of the Nobility for the Diet had to be elected; but the election of such a president could not be carried out, because every one of the candidates proposed refused to stand. One of them, Rodischeff, explained his refusal in these words: "In this present critical time, my place is not behind the Government table, where impartiality should be the rule, but in the ranks of parties, where an irreconcilable struggle of life and death is carried on against Bureaucracy, 'that inky plague' which oppresses all Russia. We shall fight for Right, Law and Freedom."

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This speech was received with long-continued thunderous applause.

The Assembly then sent telegrams of warmest sympathy to Prince Galitzin, the head of the town of Moscow, and to Prince Trubetzkoi the two foremost champions of the Parliamentary cause. "All thinking Russia," it was said in the telegram from Twer, "is on your side, and an early victory cannot be doubtful." Another telegram was sent off to the Finnish Legislature at Helsingfors. It said: "The members of the Nobiliary Government Assembly of Twer send their sympathetic greeting to the Finnish Diet, and express their firm conviction that only in a free cooperation of all independently organized public forces of Russia and Finland is the guarantee to be found for the happiness and the progress in culture of the two nations."

Will Nicholas II still not listen to reason and to the claims of the most moderate men, whilst there is yet time for him? Will he wait till some of the troops begin to mutiny?

Nearly twenty-six years ago I wrote thus on the movement then going on in Russia:

"A despotism founded on the backwardness of the masses may for a long time keep its power, in spite of the more intelligent section of the community. But when this section, though a minority, takes resolute action, the despot may be overthrown by a revolution achieved by a comparatively small circle of men. The inert great masses are then no real obstacle. A palace conspiracy, aided by outsiders in influential position, may oust or cow the tyrant, and effect a change in the Parliamentary sense. And if, in a despot-ridden country, things are to be bettered at all, some first attempts of the kind must be made, at one time or other, without waiting for the slow process of the gradual enlightenment of the masses—or else a country would be kept forever in a vicious circle. Despots do not grant the rights necessary for such gradual education. Macaulay saw this; and he was not a revolutionist of very pronounced type."

After a quarter of a century, many layers of the Russian population have so far advanced that there is now one of the best chances of victory over an antiquated, barbarous and internally corrupt Absolutism. The hearts and the hopes of all freemen throughout the world are with those who have manfully entered into the struggle with the autocratic fiend.

KARL BLIND.

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A DREAM AND A VISION.

BY IRA SEYMOUR DODD.

I HAD been reading Doctor Cuyler's "Recollections of a Long Life." The book brought back a troop of memories. Especially what it said about the preachers and the preaching of forty or fifty years ago, seemed to make my own past alive again.

I laid the book down; I was alone and the house was quiet. The wood fire in the grate, a luxury which the extravagances of the anthracite strike had made a necessity, had burned down to glowing coals and reminded me of my grandfather's more generous fireplace. I fell into a reverie, in which past and present, with sharp contrasts, were curiously mingled. And, presently, the reverie passed into sleep, and, as I slept, I dreamed.

I was a boy once more. It was a Sabbath morning: the air was sharp and frosty, the ground covered with snow. With my father and mother and brothers, I was on my way to church. Yes: we always went to church: that was a matter of course. Neither cold nor heat nor storm kept us at home; and, on such a morning as this, the walk of a mile or more was a rich delight. If we boys had to go along soberly and couldn't run and roll in the snow, because it was the Sabbath, there were compensations. One was the sleigh-bells as loads of other families living at greater distance than ourselves passed us on their way to the church. And another was seeing the people, friends and neighbors, all, like ourselves, in groups of families and all going one way.

Presently, I found myself in the family pew. Everything was familiar; the high-backed seats, the tall pew-door, the lofty pulpit, the choir in the gallery at the rear, the great window near which I always sat, often wondering during sermon time, as I measured its deep embrasure with my eye, whether the stone walls of the building were not at least three feet thick.

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But even in my dream there was a mingled consciousness. I was a boy; and, yet, I was something more. Either I was a boy whose life in some strange way had been projected into his own future, or else, I was just a boy *again*. The note of time was all confused; I found myself contrasting what I saw about me with some later and also familiar life. I remarked things which, I am sure, as a boy I never particularly noticed. For example, the congregation seemed large for such a cold day. The great church was well filled; and I asked myself impatiently: "Why not? It is always well filled every Sabbath day." But I seemed to have a recollection of other churches in which, on such a day as this, there would be only a handful of people. Then, too, the large number of young folks as well as of old people: boys and girls, fathers and mothers, and gray-haired grandsires and matrons! And, what was most striking, they were not sitting apart, but all gathered like ourselves into family pews. And again I said: "Why not? It has always been so; it would be unnatural otherwise." But the shadowy consciousness of other congregations would intrude,—congregations where everything was more promiscuous, and the whole atmosphere was more that of an entertainment. Boy as I was, that shadowy thought shocked me. "Can it be that people ever go to church for anything else than to worship God?" I had to admit that, occasionally, I fell asleep during the long prayer, and that I was often reproved by my mother for gazing out of the window, and that I sometimes forgot everything else while I looked toward that pew full of blooming girls between us and the pulpit. But then, I knew these things were wrong, and that I ought to be reverent and attentive.

I cannot very distinctly remember the subject of the sermon of my dream; but it was long, it dealt with profound and solemn doctrine, and I do remember the way in which the preacher appealed constantly to Bible texts, as though every word of that Book were positive and final truth. Again that disturbing shadow of something quite different crossed my consciousness, and it was more shocking to my boyish mind than any mere levity in worship. "What! can it be that any one doubts whether every word of the Bible is true?" The next time the preacher used a proof-text, I looked around on the congregation with a fearful curiosity to see whether I could detect any latent skepticism of such awful sort in any of their faces.

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Then another fact struck me. I knew everybody in that church. By no means were all of them, in the phrase of the day, "professing Christians." There was Squire Hildreth, who certainly was quite worldly, and was reported to be somewhat dissipated; and there was Miss Gibbons, who read novels and was suspected of a tendency toward freethinking; and there was Mr. Hard, the tavern-keeper, the bar of whose hostelry was the best patronized of the few drinking-places in town; and in the gallery were several young men who were reputed "wild," and,—yes! there also was old Peter the village drunkard, whose known infirmities made people indulgent of his irregular attendance at public worship. But he was here to-day. All these sinners were at church. I remembered that, with the exception of Peter, they were always at church. Yes, everybody attended public worship. Not to do so would be to incur a sort of social ostracism.

It was relief unspeakable to be assured by my scrutiny—which, in some peculiar way, seemed endowed with power to read the very thoughts of those into whose faces I peered—that not one, saint or sinner, questioned for a moment the absolute and complete truth of the Bible.

It must have been the relaxed tension of this assurance that awoke me from my dream.

There lay Dr. Cuyler's book on the table beside me, and I said to myself: "Of course, his preachers were eloquent and their preaching greatly effective, for they preached to just such congregations as I saw in my dream. Doubtless there were differences, just as there are now. The cities were less homogeneous than the villages and smaller towns; but, in a large and true way, my boyhood home was a type. Church-going was the fashion everywhere, family religion was prevalent, the church was a cherished institution, the preacher spoke with authority, his message was received with general respect, and the Bible, the foundation of his message, was a court of final resort regarded by saint and sinner as true from cover to cover.

"Whether those former days were better than these is another question. There was plenty of sin; there was some infidelity of a rather shallow and not very influential sort; there was abundance of cold orthodoxy and empty profession. The very fact that church attendance was a social requirement fostered a deadening religious conventionality; the very literalness with

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which the Bible and a certain stereotyped form of theology were accepted tended to narrow men's thoughts, and blind them to some of the most glorious truths of divine revelation. There is always a fly in the ointment of religious conditions; but there have been far worse conditions than those of forty or fifty years ago.

"And, whatever fault may be found with that recent past, certainly it was a great time for the preachers. A more favorable environment for the successful preaching of the gospel has seldom been known. No wonder there were pulpit giants in those days!"

Such were my reflections as I mused upon my dream. But my fire had died to ashes, and I went to bed and to a troubled sleep in which my dream, in fragments, with fantastic variations and absurd commingling of the past and present kept repeating itself.

The day following, a busy one which included a trip to the city, brought me into contact with all sorts and conditions of men; and constantly I found myself asking, How would those old preachers, even the giants among them, deal with these crowds? How would they meet the skepticism, the agnosticism, the practical materialism, the deep and intense worldliness of to-day? Surely they would find their vantage-ground all gone from under them.

With astonishment, with deep amazement and sore perplexity, they would miss the things which used to be taken for granted and which formed their standing-ground. For men no longer think or feel as they used to about heaven, or hell or an inerrant Bible. Church-going is no longer a social necessity, the Sabbath is not the Sabbath of fifty years ago. The world is a different world. It is a larger world, far more highly developed—and, yet, a smaller world, whose most distant boundaries can be quickly and easily reached, whose most obscure corners are known, mapped, explored and exploited.

Evening found me once more in my quiet room. The dealer had condescended (at a price) to send half a ton of coal to the house during my absence, so that this time, instead of a wood fire, the grate was glowing with anthracite. I took up a book which had just come from the library, and without stopping to look at the title dipped into its pages. It proved to be an at-

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tempt to state Christianity in the terms of evolution. The author had much to say about "religion," which, in his view, was a product of the human soul. Generously admitting, even enthusiastically proclaiming, that the Gospel of Christ was a great factor in the evolution of spiritual life, this writer, it was evident, regarded evolution itself as the real and great gospel.

The airy assumptions, the forced cheerfulness, the real coldness and inconclusiveness of the book depressed me. I glanced at the title-page and saw that it was the much admired "Spiritual Excelsior," by the Rev. Dr. Worldbourne.

I laid it down beside Dr. Cuyler's Recollections, and again fell into reverie. What is the meaning of this deep, this wide-spread, unrest, religious, social, political? What is the cause of these insistent attempts to restate and resolve all the problems of life and destiny?

Are the new science and the new philosophy, the Higher Criticism and the New Theology, together with the drifting faith and lost religious practice which accompany and flow from them, simply an accumulation of penalty for our sin in forsaking the old paths? Are these new theories the cause of the unrest? Or do unrest and new doctrines alike spring from something else?

And then I remembered this great, this new, world of which I had had a glimpse during the day: this world lighted by a very Aladdin's Lamp of discovery; this world of a silent revolution, whose marvels we realize but dimly because we ourselves are so much part of it; this free, this dazzling, this dizzy world, whose past was yesterday and whose future is to-morrow, whose present is so intense, so grinding, so wearing, yet so fascinating: this world in which business no longer reckons by hundreds or thousands but by millions; yea, by billions: this world of great philanthropies and noble humanities, the comforts of whose common people were the luxuries of the rich a hundred years ago, and the luxuries of whose rich surpass anything ancient Rome in her most gilded age ever imagined: this world of inspiring prospect, of vast possibilities for moral and spiritual growth, and of anxious forebodings of possible disaster and anarchy: this most interesting, hopeful, absorbing, enchanting, yet too dangerously material, world.

I remembered that science is but another name for great and marvellous truth bursting into light, and that science, and along

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with it certain basic principles of the very Gospel of Christ, are mainly responsible for the world as it is to-day; and that science in its great enlargement necessitates a new philosophy; and that the enlarged life of the world requires, not a new gospel, but a larger and more adequate understanding and interpretation of God's eternal truth.

But I thought I could see, also, that what has happened in the past is happening now. Human nature, earth-born, asserts itself. The flesh is striving, too successfully, with the spirit. This youthful, masterful world has laid its finger on the lips of thought; and thought, especially religious thought, is not really free. It is paralyzed by the touch of the world.

The error of the New Theology is not that it is new. Theology ought to be new. The science of God's spiritual world has no more right to stand still than has the science of His material world. But the error of modern theology is, that it allows itself to stray from its true source. Instead of advancing in its only true and safely enlarging direction, instead of finding its life in the upper air of God, where alone it can become really capable of leading the world, it is letting the world lead it; it is trying to interpret God's eternal truth in terms of this present and finite world.

No wonder the church appears to be losing its leading position in society; no wonder that the preaching seems less effective and the preachers less powerful!

There are, indeed, among them, men as able, as earnest, as faithful, often as truly orthodox, as any of their brethren in the past. They are doing good, useful, noble work.

Yet, they are terribly hampered by their environment; and it can scarcely be pretended that there is a single prominent preacher who is truly meeting and mastering the difficulties of the present and pressing situation.

Such thoughts—and I must confess they were somewhat confused—passed through my mind and left me with a deeply troubled spirit. I had raked out the fire and put on a little more of the precious coal as the room grew chilly, and now the grate glowed like a big golden eye. As I gazed into it, I knew not how it was. Certainly, it was not a dream like that of last night, for I felt no drowsiness as then; my senses were all acutely, painfully awake; I only know that my vision appeared to be projected into

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the future—whether the near or distant future, I cannot tell. I was in a church. It was a large building which had once been fine, but now, as to the audience-room at least, was somewhat bare and shabby. I can only describe it by saying that it had the appearance of once having been a fashionable church, whose neighborhood, by the growth of the city, had become "down-town," squalid. Every seat, however, was filled; the aisles were filled; people,—mostly very plain, poorly dressed people—were sitting about the pulpit steps. Others, evidently, belonging to the wealthier classes, were standing about the doors. In fact, the congregation was very mixed. All ranks of the social order were represented; and, strange to say, there was a preponderance of men, a large proportion of whom were young men. The organ was old but fine, and there was a large choir, which, with the people, was rising to sing as I found myself in the church. To my surprise, they did not strike up either a gospel song or an old-fashioned familiar hymn; but they sang:

"Christian, dost thou see them on the holy ground?"

to Dykes's noble tune, and the congregation joined in it with a freedom that showed it was familiar to them; yet, with a subdued and solemn earnestness that was new in my experience of church music. I noticed, however, that some persons, when it came to the line,

"Christian, up and smite them!"

ceased singing with sad, or troubled, sometimes with almost angry, faces.

The hymn ceased; the preacher arose. His presence made a profound impression on me and, as I noticed, on the congregation as well. It is only by an effort of recollection that I can at all describe him; for, before I left that church, all thought of his personality had been swallowed up in something else. But, as he first stood up and paused, looking about on the people before he spoke, I saw a tall man with spare, wiry frame, no longer young, yet perhaps older in experience than in years, neatly but very plainly attired. A glance was sufficient to show that here was no well-groomed pastor of a prominent and prosperous congregation; neither could he be a half-baked popular gospeller; for about his whole personality there was the undefinable, yet unmis-

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takable, stamp of the born gentleman: and, before he had spoken for ten minutes, I felt myself in the presence of a highly disciplined, serious and broad-minded scholar. But what a face! You could not call it handsome; its worn, almost wasted, lines told of deep draughts from the cup of life's sorrows, and long and patient bearing of heavy burdens. It was the face of an ascetic; yet the asceticism was evidently not voluntary, but the development of some bitter experience. The glance of those almost unnaturally brilliant eyes commingled sternness with a melting tenderness of human sympathy. And, with it all, there was the independence of conscious power. You felt that this man had long since ceased either to fear the face of man, or care for human praise or blame.

His text, read in a calm, quiet, though penetrating voice, was from one of those messages of the prophet Isaiah in which are mingled denunciation and appeal. I dare not attempt any outline of his sermon. It was too solemn, too personal, for any cold analysis.

But there were several characteristics of that sermon which stamped themselves upon my memory. One was the utter sinking of the preacher's own personality. His manner was always quiet, even refined; his language well chosen, often exceedingly striking, yet so perfectly simple and natural that the most ignorant could not fail to understand. There was not the slightest suspicion of literary effort; no hint of "See how finely I can do it." You felt that his manner and language were simply the unconscious expression of his true self.

His denunciations of sin, in high places especially, were awful, all the more so because of the evidently intimate and exact knowledge of what he was talking about, the close adherence to facts, the absence of lurid rhetoric, and, above all, the utter absence of any air of "See how brave I am!" As you listened, you forgot the man; you had, you could have, no thought save for the solemn truths he uttered, the truths which cut you to the heart. He was just a voice crying in the wilderness—a man who knew his world, yet was not of it: a John the Baptist, yet a John of the new dispensation rather than of the old. For you felt the spirit of Jesus in his appeals, and in his warm sympathy with the sorrows and even the sins of men. And, all the time, there was that singular detachment and self-forgetfulness which gave his message a won-

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derful force. As you listened, you began to feel the reason for this. You felt that this man had a message from on high, and that, if he was lonely in the world, he was close to God—nay, possessed by God.

I have no idea what his denomination was, nor can I tell precisely the shade of his theology. There were sentences in his sermon which might seem to imply acceptance of the theories of modern criticism, and other sentences which showed a leaning on the bare word of God even more absolute than that of the old pastor of my boyhood days. He said things about Jesus which a Unitarian might have said; but he said other things which, in their deep reverence for the Divine Almightiness and Eternal Blessedness of Christ, went beyond the customary statements of strictest orthodoxy. In a peculiar way he seemed to be emancipated from the fetters of any human and, therefore, partial logic, and free from any care as to how men might classify him; this, not because of any oddity, natural or assumed, but because he was evidently possessed by a message whose heavenly dignity raised him above earthly distinctions, either ecclesiastical or theological. But in one most important respect he differed radically from the common form of the new theology, and that difference brought out the greatest and most impressive characteristic of his preaching. He had little to say about religion; he laid small stress on any good spun from man's own soul in his feeble feeling after God; he ignored any gospel which was in any sense the product of a human evolution. The salvation which he proclaimed was a salvation not of this world, but coming to man out of God's eternal life and glory.

This preacher had a message from God, and the message so possessed him that those who listened very soon forgot the messenger, because the message itself laid such powerful hold of them.

I looked about on the congregation. You could see by their faces that some were trying to hold themselves in an attitude of critical indifference, and some would fain have been scoffers, but with poor success. The scoffers were getting frightened, the critics troubled or angry. Especially was this the case with a group of well-dressed middle-aged men, whose bearing proclaimed them leaders in business and society; some of whom, as I afterward discovered, were pillars of leading churches. It seemed im-

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possible for any one to be indifferent to that message, and few tried to be. Rapt attention, deep contrition, and unspeakable peace were variously expressed in the faces of the mass of the great audience.

There was little talk as the awestruck congregation slowly passed out of the church. The social buzz and hum so common at the close of most of our religious services were conspicuously absent.

But, by chance, I found myself, as I walked pensively on my way home, in conversation with an acquaintance who knew more about this preacher than I could expect to. I discovered that the preacher belonged to a good family of literary antecedents; that, with a burning thirst for knowledge, he had passed through a long and severe course of study, not in theology alone, but also in science and philosophy—interrupted, however, by a crisis in the affairs of his family which had compelled him for a time to go into business and knock about the world and mingle with men; that, finally, when this became possible, a sort of humanitarian interest, together with a liking for a studious and socially pleasant profession, had drawn him into the ministry; and that he had become the pastor of a fashionable church. Here he had gone, first, through the deep waters of doubt and spiritual struggle, and, then, through a flood of personal affliction. Out of it he had emerged a changed man. The call of God began to be heard in his soul. He became dissatisfied with his worldly, prosperous, and religiously cold congregation. In fact, his preaching began to give offence. He gave up his charge, and accepted that of the discouraged and apparently hopeless congregation of this down-town church. There, as though at last free, his preaching increased in power, until the influence of it was felt all through the city; and as from all Judea men went down to the Jordan to hear John the Baptist, so from all quarters all sorts of men came to listen to the message of this modern prophet.

I asked my friend what men said about the preacher. He replied: "They say everything, except to accuse him of immorality; his life is too candidly pure for that; but the organs of the liberal theology complain that he is reactionary; the orthodox suspect him of heresy, and a few of the most influential daily papers call him a dangerous man. But he is stirring this great city as no preacher has ever stirred it before." I asked, "Is he making many

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converts?" My friend looked at me in astonishment. "He, making converts! He never thinks of such a thing. But, if that is what you mean, his message has been a message of life to a great many—to me, for instance. You know what I used to be, careless, skeptical, worldly—I've found life, real life, since I heard that message. I tell you it is turning men to righteousness. I could have shown you more than one Zaccheus in that congregation to-day."

Just then the ashes in my dying fire fell with a loud click, the town clock boomed out the hour of midnight, and my vision vanished.

IRA SEYMOUR DODD.

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THE PUBLIC-SCHOOL SYSTEM IN THE PHILIPPINES.

BY WILLARD FRENCH.

In justice to itself, let us acknowledge that the American Public-School System in the Philippine Islands is still in adolescence —even, as yet, an unknown quantity; nevertheless, quite enough has been demonstrated to denounce the wide diversity of impression extant concerning it, and a better appreciation is due from every intelligent citizen.

After several years' absence, I left for the islands last spring, by a Government transport carrying several officers and civilians who were returning after only brief visits in America, and from them I endeavored to gather the latest facts concerning the Department of Public Instruction, which I had left in the incipiency of glowing promises. The consentient opinion, apparently honest, favored the assertion that it had developed into a gigantic farce. Arriving in Manila, I found many ready to indorse this view.

Reasons are obvious why any administrative effort in the Philippines instigates prejudiced criticism. Internal and external conditions encourage more misconceptions than permeate the integrity of any other community on earth, more or less resultant from the fact that a republic has not the most convenient form of government for this particular phase of aggrandization. It is only safe, in all considerations Filipino, to subject every sentiment to saline solution, then swallow a teaspoonful of each. Something of fact is usually hidden in all of the popular fallacies. They are not invariably sophistries, by any means.

There is truth, for instance, in the "gigantic farce" theory, even though to find it we must first extract the adjective and apply it singly to the system, letting the noun alone revert to certain features in the early days of propagation. Among these

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first, and it must be admitted rather farcical, features, was the sudden and widespread advertising for the famous "cargo of teachers," upon such very lenient and liberal license that almost any one who would apply could come, and be "thank-youed"; resulting in what is commonly referred to as "The Thousand," who came over on the "Thomas" and were landed before Manila was ready to receive them. They were housed in hurriedly constructed, tremendously elongated *nipa* houses, upstilted on bamboo posts, as is all native architecture, with doors and windows which were simply holes, secretable only by the regulation grass screens; out in the Spanish Exposition grounds, beyond the city walls. The teachers came while the rainy season was hard at it and the food-supply doubly limited, in kind as well as quantity, with their final destinations wholly undecided, and not one in a hundred of them possessed of the remotest idea of what they were coming to or what was to devolve upon them when they arrived. It seemed high tragedy to them while camping there in the wet, mentally and physically subsisting on insubstantial uncertainties; but there was more or less comedy about it, after all, and the vein of humor thus begun at the beginning has continued, subcutaneously, even unto this day, with farcical features interspersed for such as are inclined to mine for them. But they are not the foundation, neither are they the superstructure, of the Public-School System in the Philippines.

Concerning it, we must at least admit that the Government has expended a large amount of money in a laudable endeavor to construct a complete system of education in the islands, and accomplish—too precipitately, perhaps—a most desirable end; while, even of that first invoice of teachers, we cannot but believe that many were, and that some still are, earnest in the cause and profession, and that they made their sacrifices, endured their hardships, and devoted their energies not wholly and all of them, at any rate, with a view to the stipend and perquisites, or in quest of adventure.

Moreover, the effort has been in the direction which critics and sages have so long advocated, to bring the mental faculties to a position and ability to comprehend higher values and the greater desirability of modern methods; so that one should not too easily condemn even failures—if failures there have been—in the gigantic experiment. On one hand, the enthusiastic devotee can

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readily deduce good evidence that the success of the enterprise has already far outbalanced the expenditure. Instances have appeared in many recitals indicative of great results. There are actual and real results which, under the conditions, may justly be considered phenomenal. On the other hand, one upon the ground must see and hear much which suggests the possibility for even such extravagant terms as "gigantic farce." For a vaster problem than most conceive is that of educating the Filipinos.

In the first place, there is no such thing as a Filipino Nation. Such a heterogeneous conglomeration does not exist in any other country on the earth. In color, capacity, custom, language and ethics, in theories of life and after-life, they differ almost as much from each other as they differ from us. There are hundreds of thousands of naked, smooth-faced, strong-featured, long-haired Igorrotes, the famous head-hunters, who believe that the air is full of ghosts—they call them *anitos*—who are alone responsible for everything. There are thousands of Visayans who hold that the only potent thing is *anting-anting,* an amulet as varied as the precious pocket-pieces of Americans. There are uncounted little black Negritos acknowledging nothing but evil spirits, which they can keep out of their houses at night by drawing the grass screens over the door and window openings in their *nipa* huts; and the powerful, laughing, fighting, sinister Moros who look with contempt on the ideas of pig-eating Christians, and advise them to come up higher into more modern Mohammedanism. And there are many others with thousands of odd notions, all conflicting with any effort at reform.

Even the nominally Christian tribes are hardly less prejudiced by eccentric and erratic theories. The only qualities which the people of the Philippines possess in common are ignorance and bigotry. They are distinctly childish; whimsically, often unreasonably, sometimes obstinately childish, as a perfectly natural result of three centuries of most superficial Christianity and subjugation, grafted upon aboriginal Orientalism. Their previous education, in its quality more than in its quantity, which was very limited, was accomplished by the friars with a specific end in view, and proved one of the most serious obstacles in the solution of the new problem, though at the outset it received comparatively little attention.

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The dispositions, customs, theories of the people to be taught were utterly strange to the very instincts of the new educators. The land itself, in every possibility and necessity, was entirely new to them—a wonderland of unappreciable rewards, but of realistic punishments for the unsophisticated and injudicious. They had everything to learn, these new teachers; while the scholars, when scholars were finally found, were naked little brownies, who could smile in English, but could not understand a word of it. What had the new teachers to teach? They did not even know how to live in the open-sided, stilt-uplifted, *nipa* houses. Truly, there was something humorous in the beginning of it all. And the next step was like unto the first; for, while they in the Philippines were still dreaming out the possibilities, there came word that the advertisements had been answered, and that the cargo was on the way; and, rousing themselves, they sent agents flying to every local governor of every province for a quick statement as to how many teachers, and of what sex, he thought his cities, towns and villages could accommodate. Upon these impromptu estimates, the embryo incidents were dispensed.

An official who is still prominent in the work and who was then one of those advance agents and dispensators, said to me, the other evening:

"It was bad enough business, the hurried way in which we arranged for placing them; but when I came to look over that first collection from the 'Thomas,' with a view to filling the orders, I could only think of that slang which Senator Depew has indorsed: that we had all of us 'bitten off more than we could chew,' and that we were all 'right up against it'—teachers, Board and Filipinos. Some of the teachers came simply to travel at Government expense and see the tropics. Some came for a chance to study Spanish—there's not one native in a thousand outside of Manila who can speak a word of it, and all school work is strictly in English, by order. Some came for botanical investigations, some for zoology, others for anthropology. Others deliberately asked to be located where, betweenwhiles, they could go prospecting with a view to making quick fortunes from their finds. Of course, there were some few who betrayed inclinations to teach Filipino children, but they were exceptions. They all of them followed their destiny. Some died. Some were relieved for illness. Some went home mad. Some resigned to take up

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other work. Some succeeded in establishing first-rate schools, and a very few renewed their contracts at the end of the first three-year term. The money has not been thrown away. The permanent value of the investment is too evident; but the first three years it was hard pulling for all of us."

Criticism emanates from within as well as from without, for two opposing methods were projected at the outset, each supported by one of the two principal organizers. Only one could be adopted, but the adherents of the other, still earnest workers, are also in evidence with an occasional "I told you so." This same high official continued what he was saying, with:

"It is an unfortunate fact that many dollars were expended to accomplish what a few might have done better; that considerable energy and health and some life have been unnecessarily lost, and that overzealous or ignorant or careless teachers have occasionally made very bad mistakes, antagonizing priests, frightening or offending natives, and causing disagreeable breaks which cannot be easily repaired or forgotten. These things would not have happened had native teachers been educated first and sent out."

This is all true, yet salt it; for he was an earnest advocate of the other plan—a concentration plan, by which only a hundred teachers were to be brought over, experts in the art, located in large centres, with a careful selection of pupils gathered on the normal plan and educated for future work throughout the islands. Looking backward, it is so easy to imagine how very satisfactory everything might have been under other conditions, and it is perfectly true that some of the regrettable incidents could not have occurred. But obvious objections to the plan prevailed. It would have been a very slow process, with uncertain results from errors easily incorporating themselves and difficult to obviate; besides lacking the essential element of Americanism. So the gigantic task was undertaken of creating, in the Philippines, the complex school system of America—installing a great machine in full running order.

The multitude of obstacles, a few of which I have briefly mentioned, suggests that, under either plan, satisfactory progress would have met occasional rebuff. The greatest and more nearly insurmountable dangers were those which would have encompassed the rejected plan later in its development. With the plan which was adopted, the difficulties would naturally be greatest

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at first and steadily decreasing. Hence, when comparing what I find in the Philippines to-day with what I knew a few years ago, the farcical features fade in real effects so wonderful—take the word at its strength—that I feel myself considering more a miracle than simply a successful experiment.

I have wandered over the Philippines from Bontoc, the centre of the head-hunting savages in the mountains of Luzon, through all the intervening islands, to Jolo of Sulu, the most Moro of Moroland, off the coast of Borneo. I was not in search of school developments, but that did not signify. They were omnipresent. One could not traverse the streets of a native town, morning or noon, without passing laughing bevies of thin-shirted youngsters, hugging to their brown sides familiar home school-books. I have also made several trips into various interiors, even Mindanao, and have yet to find the boy or girl who did not smile and reply in kind to "Hello!" or "Good-by!" often taking the initiative when they saw a white face on the road, while, parenthetically, it was a rare exception to receive more than an uncomprehending stare if the same salutations were given in Spanish. In the wild province of Bontoc, to-day, there are ten who speak English reasonably well to one who understands a word of Spanish. In communities where, five years ago, the uniform of Gunga Din was full-dress, the streets, to-day, on Sundays or holidays, are veritable tropical flower-gardens set in snow—so many of the women affect the brilliant colors dear to Oriental hearts, and the men white coats and trousers. One rarely sees more enthusiastic merriment and pretty finery than we met with in the city of Taal, in the province of Batangas, last Fourth of July—in Batangas! which has been, and which pessimists say still is, the hotbed of insurrectionary dreams. The secret of it lay in the fact that there are two thousand children in Taal attending the public schools, and the popular enthusiasm in celebrating the Fourth of July is external indication of the manner in which other ideas which are promulgated in the schools reach into homes, where by no other means could they possibly penetrate, and of the esteem and respect with which the natives consider the schools, as well as incidentally vindicating the plan of multiplying American teachers at the outset, instilling better Americanism with the first rudiments. There are many miserable manifestations of Americans in the islands. Drunken, truculent

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loafers infest every coast town, living on the labor of Filipino women; but, in spite of them, Americanism of higher grade has become the fad of the Philippines, and an insatiable desire to learn has developed everywhere. By such a record is the course indorsed, and by its fruits the system ought to be known.

There were indirect benefits, too, from the tremendous, however humorous, energy of the educational effort. The Catholic schools, which for a long time have been operative in the islands, have been under the direction or discretion of the friars. They were notoriously difficult of access, and anything approaching higher education was utterly impossible except to a few selected by the priests for preferment, with a view to their future usefulness in Church affairs. These Spanish schools were nominally under the control of the local governors who appointed the teachers; but the Church was mightier than the State, and the governor whose appointment antagonized a priest was doomed. The vigor of American methods thrilled the Church system with new life. Very few of the priests have taken advantage of the official permit for two or three hours a week of religious instruction in the public schools, nor have they been to any great degree pacified thereby; but many of the Catholic schools have enlarged their scope, and materially increased the facilities which they previously afforded.

However many faults the system of education or its propagation may have had, however many mistakes its various agents may have made, the fact stands forth that to-day nearly three hundred thousand Filipino children are enrolled in the public schools, with an average attendance of about a quarter of a million. The *barrios* or district schools have a primary course of three years. From these the pupils are eligible to the municipal schools, with an intermediate course of three years more. Then come the second-grade courses, which parallel the high schools of America, besides commercial and agricultural courses, and courses in arts and crafts. New and larger buildings are being called for all over the islands, and several municipalities have already constructed large schoolhouses, with carpenter shops in one end and blacksmith shops in the other, for manual training. Even Oriental Negros is building a large secondary schoolhouse, if it is not already completed; all indicating the substantial footing gained by the school system in less than six years. The teachers

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have also learned two most important lessons—how to care for themselves, and that the little brownies have heads upon their slender shoulders which are as capable of absorbing as are those that come to school in ruffs and collars from stanch Yankee cradles.

There should be no mistake upon this latter point, yet it is one upon which the gravest misconceptions exist, even in high places. They are constructed on the strength of obvious characteristics, but they are radically false. A natural tendency of all Orientals, increased by long intimacy with Latin races, is to be secretive, to hide their own opinions and apparently agree when in conversation with their superiors. This has often caused erroneous convictions in the minds of outspoken Anglo-Saxons; while the saving vein of humor underlying dark skins frequently subjects their serious side to misinterpretation. The essential error affecting educational problems in the Philippines, and widely accepted, is that the Filipino is shallow; bright on the surface, quick to catch the superficial, but beyond that nothing! a blank! One would think that the facts would be a refutation of this error, and rather an ominous suggestion of something like a curtain, instead, hiding the realities of life from too close a scrutiny. Indicative of this are the three advance schools of Manila, two of which have been but recently established: The Normal School, The School of Arts and Trades and the Nautical School. The dominating purpose of those directing the course of education has been to inculcate the dignity of labor; and, besides these higher schools, there has been added to the provincial and second-grade schools a two years' course in mechanical drawing, wood-working, iron-working, and tool-making; but the success of The School of Arts and Trades is the more astonishing when we remember the inherent and Spain-cultivated hatred of labor among the upper classes, and that, in spite of their traditions of centuries, the sons of these first families fill The School of Arts and Trades. It is confusing to our conceptions of the Filipinos to find the boys sweating in the metal and wood-working departments, at machine practice, plumbing and carpentering and steam and electric engineering; delving in architecture, stenography, typewriting, and telegraphy; making things and doing things like experts.

It is an inspiration to watch the six hundred in The Normal School at their class exercises, and especially the higher classes

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when they gather at noon in the assembly hall. Those who expect to find a blank must look beyond the graduating classes of The Normal School, and soon there will be no limit, for in lack of a college preparatory course, fitting students for American colleges, such a course is now to be added to The Normal School curriculum. For the benefit of those who more suspect a curtain, instead, I take the liberty of repeating an incident which I have once related in public:

I was sitting one afternoon in a lower class-room of The Normal School, where out-of-town pupils are given a preparatory course before regular matriculation. Some fifty boys and girls about twelve years old were reciting United States history. The lesson was on Captain Smith and his first Virginia settlers, and related to their greed for gold and their oppression of the Indians, and their final obedience to Smith's demand that they plant corn and potatoes and beans for themselves. A bright-eyed youngster sitting in the rear, having obtained permission, asked, very respectfully:

"Where did they obtain the seed?"

"From the Indians, of course," said the teacher.

"If the Indians disliked them so and wished them away, why did they give them the means to stay?" he asked.

"Probably, the English bought and paid for it," the teacher said; but the boy persisted;

"We learned yesterday that the Indians had no money and no use for it, and that they did not care for the gold or how much of it the English took with them, if they would only go away."

"Well, I don't know how they obtained the seed," the teacher replied. "I only know what the book says, that they got it."

"I myself do not know," the boy said, most politely. "But I saw a picture in which Captain Smith held an Indian by the throat, with a pistol at his head, saying: 'Your money or your life!' I myself do not know that it was true. I was only thinking of—of the Philippines."

There was a sparkle—a glint—in many dark eyes, and dark lips were smiling, all round the room, as the boy sat down. It was nothing. And yet, as I sat with Dr. Beattie, the Superintendent, in his private office, afterward, I couldn't help remarking that, if he purposed to pursue the history of the United States with those children, he ought surely to provide expurgated editions.

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The third of these higher-grade schools, the Nautical, is the youngest, but it is destined to be one of the most important institutions in the Philippines. The coast-line of the islands is greater than the coast-line of the United States. In the present lack of railroads, all intercourse depends upon the sea, and railway systems will but bring more commerce to the ports, increasing rather than diminishing the demand for ships. The waterway of the archipelago will be a more and more crowded thoroughfare. The students already come from twenty-two different provinces, a fact which indicates the wide appreciation among the natives of the facilities offered by the school.

At the last Fourth of July celebration in Manila, six hundred native schoolgirls were arranged on a platform opposite the reviewing-stand, singing patriotic songs. At the close, Judge Roxas remarked to General Smith, the Commissioner at the head of the Department of Public Instruction:

"Whatever may be said of your system, this I must admit: it has given a new light to the faces of our young women, and conferred upon them a dignity and bearing which they never had before."

One would hardly have thought there were as many boys in Manila as appeared in that parade representing the School Department. They were dressed in white, with red, white, and blue ribbon for shoulder-straps, and each carried a flag which he held at salute in passing the Governor's stand. Being the rainy season it naturally rained, and the ribbon being cheap the color naturally ran in every direction down the white. Some one aptly said that it illustrated the Public-School System, giving patriotism a start above the shoulders for existing conditions to spread it all over everywhere.

If the Philippines were all, then the worst that could be said of the Government's educational policy in our new possessions must still be praise. But there is an island called Guam, in mid-Pacific, at which the transports stop on their way from Honolulu to Manila. It is little known, because we value it only for the strategic importance of its harbor of San Luis de Apra—the only possibility for a naval and coaling station, for any nation, within a thousand miles. We have wholly ignored the fact that, beyond the beautiful coral-bound harbor, there are eleven thousand natives on the island of Guam; not barbarians, but Christians;

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not revolutionists, but law-abiding citizens—the poorest of poor farmers, all, bringing from their patches daily their daily bread. I visited Guam last June to see them, and no better people could be seen anywhere in all the broad Pacific. We have paid them no attention, for they are uncommercial, unalarming. We have given them no consideration, for they have not murdered our countrymen or revolted against our Government. Worse yet, we have ignored the fact that among them are four thousand children.

In the seven *nipa*-roofed and bamboo-stilted villages, there are Spanish chapels and schoolhouses combined—empty. In Agaña, the one city, seven thousand strong, there are substantial stone and stucco buildings which once were schools: deserted because —literally because—for seven years our flag has floated over Guam. When Captain Shroeder was governor, he made valiant efforts to establish schools, but failed for lack of funds. When Lieutenant Safford was vice-governor, he opened and taught a night-school himself. Commander Dyer, the present governor, with the help of his most admirable wife, has enlisted the aid of nearly every American lady on the island; but the brownies were so eager to learn and came in such multitudes, that the age-limit had to be cut to between seven and twelve. Still they came too fast, and boys alone could be taken in the morning and girls in the afternoon. So much for what might also be done in Guam, with a little of the same praiseworthy liberality which is evidenced in the Philippines.

It may be that those who seek can find combinations of comedy along with the development of the system in the islands, but there is no farce connected with Guam. There is nothing but tragedy and shame. Not one dollar has ever been appropriated by this Government. No school supplies have been afforded. Not a teacher has been furnished or a school established by the help of the Treasury in the seven years of our dominion, and the shame increases with each new day through which Guam exists in its present condition of neglect, leaning on philanthropy.

WILLARD FRENCH.

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GERMANY'S AIM IN FOREIGN POLITICS.

BY ARNOLD WHITE.

THE greatest man who ever lived on this planet was Napoleon Bonaparte. The personalities of his opponents are sliding rapidly into oblivion; while the books, the papers and the memoirs dealing with his character and vices, his views and habits, pour from the printing-press in ever-increasing volume. No statement of Bonaparte's has been more quoted than his memorable prediction that in half a century Europe would be either Cossack or republican. Nearly a century has passed since the date of a prophecy which has been falsified by the effluxion of time, Europe is more monarchical and less Russian than when the prediction was uttered. Although Bonaparte has proved to be in error in regard to the limit of time he allotted for the establishment of republican or Muscovite ideas in Europe, it by no means follows that he was wrong in the principle he sought to establish. Bonaparte, a hundred years ago, like William of Germany to-day, was seeking to form an alliance of the Baltic Powers against England. He foresaw, as we foresee to-day as the issue of the war in the Far East, an awakening of Russia whereby the giant of the North, vigorous after repose, with a virile and hardy population, would arise in its might and fulfil the ambition of centuries by dominating European civilization.

To understand the position of Russia to-day, it is necessary to survey the world politics of the hour; and to do so effectively we must, so to say, take off the gloves and write of things as they really are, not as they seem to be under the banal conventions of a jejune journalism.

The interests of the English and American people in Russia largely, if not mainly, depend on the influence of Russia on the maintenance of peace. The English-speaking public ought to bear

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in mind that Russia, owing to her present difficulties in the East, and to her boundary line in the West being denuded of troops and therefore open to Germany, cannot act as she would like to do, and is unable to protest against her actions being attributed to hatred of Great Britain. A great portion of the Russian nation would hail with joy an understanding with England and America, but no *rapprochement* can take place until the present despotic methods of the dissipated and incompetent Grand-Dukes are discarded in favor of a freer régime, whereby Russia shall be ruled by efficient and reasonable administrators. Hatred of England is the characteristic of a small but powerful clique in Russia. These men occupy high places, it is true, and their influence is great; but the Grand-Ducal influence would be reduced to vanishing-point if Germany's bloodthirsty ambitions were unmasked, checkmated and prepared for by the nations concerned.

The key to the position in Russia is found in the fact that, alone among the nations of Europe, she possesses no port accessible to shipping all the year round. Even the waters of the Black Sea at Odessa are frozen in hard winters. Since the time of Peter the Great, Russia has been struggling towards the south. When her way south was barred by the might of Britain and the jealousies of Europe, she pushed her frontiers eastward. Leaf by leaf she devoured the artichoke of Northern Asia. After building a railway across the trackless steppes of Siberia, she reached the sea, only to find an implacable foe more efficient and better prepared for war than the ancient civilizations of the West. The preliminary defeats of Russia by Japan, the capture of Port Arthur and even the destruction of the whole of General Kuropatkin's force, could not affect the main policy of Russia, which is to acquire a port in warm waters accessible to her ships of war and of commerce from January to December.

This desire of the Russian Government and the Russian people for a warm-water port is instinctive. The movement towards the sea and the south is like the movement of a glacier. It is irresistible and it is the result of natural law. When men write, therefore, that the seizure of Manchuria was the idle ambition of a vainglorious despotism, they speak only of what is on the surface. The locality of the warm-water port, whether in the Dardanelles, the Persian Gulf or the China Seas, is comparatively immaterial. The great point is that the volcanic energy of 130,-

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000,000 white Northerners is now pent up and will break through the crust of opposition as the lava from an active volcano finds a new crater when the forces of expansion are stronger than the superincumbent earth.

To understand this point, let us ask ourselves how long Great Britain or the United States would have waited before obtaining a warm-water port, if their respective territories were inhabited by 130,000,000 Anglo-Saxons, and if all the ports of both countries were inaccessible during one season of the year. Neither country would have waited two hundred years, and Russia will not wait a day longer than she is obliged. This desire for a warm-water port is the key to Russian policy. The substitution of constitutional government for the despotic Tsardom would not change this policy. On the contrary, the more efficient the Government of Russia may become, the more certain she is to attain the object of her ambition.

The next point to understand, in connection with the situation in Russia, is the extent to which ignorance is the bed-rock upon which the Government rests. The dense ignorance of the people is necessary to the continuance of the present system. The Russian Church is crusted with superstitious practices, and the worship of ikons by the peasantry is indistinguishable from the worship of idols by the natives of the Solomon Islands or the worship of the figures of Buddha by the Tatars or the Thibetans. The ignorance of the Russian people is not confined to the peasantry. The Government and the Church are opposed to education as such. Students of the Universities at Moscow, Kieff and other cities are constantly at variance with the authorities. Places of learning are closed for a session or a year as the consequence of political excitement, and sotnias of Cossacks are employed to chase in the streets and flog with their whips insurrectionary students whose love of liberty leads them to utter seditious ideas. The consequence of this struggle between education and authority is that the *tchinovniks* are ill-educated, and hence efficiency in the public service is rare. A chain is not stronger than its weakest link, and preparation for war at a distance involves high character, devotion to duty, and organizing power on the part of the humblest as well as the highest members of an expedition.

The failure of Russia in the Far East was inevitable. Five

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years ago, she was flogging and banishing the students who are the officials of to-day. The best brains of the Empire are ignored; petticoat influence and alcohol play a leading part in Russian policy and administration. The inebriety of her officials is no worse than the excesses among English statesmen and officials in the reign of George II. But no modern nation can sustain the burden of successful war or administer the affairs of a prosperous country with such officials as swarm in the public service of Russia.

The dissolute and avaricious relations of the Tsar who mould the policy of Russia, irrespective of Imperial or Ministerial decisions, are persons to whom there is no parallel in other lands. Their influence broods over the people like an evil genius. No change for the better can be expected until the power of the Grand-Dukes is permanently abated.

To understand the position of Russia in relation to peace and war, it is also necessary to understand the position of Germany, the great, despotic, military ally of the Northern Power. The real danger of European war is to be found in the present attitude of Germany towards Russia. Germany is the only nation in Europe that has anything to gain by war. It is a well-known fact that the Kaiser has warily felt his way, during the last few months, towards a declaration of hostility in various directions. German diplomacy, and still more the German press, have done their level best to embitter the relations of England and Russia, of Russia and France, of England and France, of Russia and the United States. The feelings of the Russian peasantry have been inflamed against Great Britain by the *tchinovniks;* the feelings of the *tchinovniks* have been inflamed against Great Britain by the Grand-Dukes; and the interests of the Grand-Dukes have been invoked by German diplomacy with consummate skill against the interests of Britain and the United States. It is owing to German intrigue in Madrid that France and Spain were unable to come to a serious and final arrangement concerning Morocco, and were compelled for the present to shelve the question. The immediate aim of Germany is the occupation of Holland; for, by that means, at one stroke a colonial empire, second only in wealth to that of Great Britain, would be added to the possessions of the Hohenzollerns. The seizure of Holland would have been carried out by Germany if an *entente*

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had not been concluded with considerable haste between Great Britain, France and Italy. The recent friendship between France and Britain did not arise from any sudden discovery that each admired the beautiful eyes of the other, but from a resolve to maintain things in Europe as they are, and, consequently, to fight Germany rather than allow Queen Wilhelmina's dominions to be annexed, penetrated or occupied by German troops.

If we are to believe German writers, the German army has entered or is about to enter a period of decadence. Prolonged peace is the bane of an army. No German officer under the rank of general has seen a gun fired in anger against white men. Anti-militarism has appeared and is growing in the Fatherland, and Herr Liebknecht, the son of the late Socialist leader, is working a powerful propaganda against militarism. German finances are in a "parlous" state; the deficits are yearly increasing; the petty war in West Africa has disorganized the finances; public works in progress have been stopped for lack of funds; even the demands of the General Staff have been set aside. There is much distress among the poorer classes. The food consumed by many is not only unappetizing, but abominable. In a number of the industrial centres, human beings herd like animals. The condition of the peasants in Prussia, Silesia, and Thuringia is terrible. Horrible misery is hidden behind the flimsy fabric of politico-humanitarian institutions which deceive the superficial inquiries from other lands. These institutions are but the pitiless travesty of State providence, and are already crumbling to their doom. The overbearing behavior of the military and of the bureaucrats, the insolence of the Jewish rich and the aristocratic contempt of the *Junkers* are intolerable. There is a strong current of profound discontent. Germany is ceasing to be the land of advanced thought. Recently a book was published entitled "Is Woman a Human Being?" The question was answered in the negative, and this book was seriously and generally discussed everywhere. At a congress of scientific men held at Frankfurt, it was proposed to erect outside all the big towns large barracks for the unfortunates. The proposal was adopted. The tendency to militarize everything is universal. Even children suffer from it. Children's suicides are frequent owing to ill-treatment and overwork. The great bulk of the German population is increasingly dissatisfied with the existing régime.

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The press and the authorities attribute these deplorable effects to the wrong causes. Great Britain's hostility is represented as the origin of the mischief. The rebellion of the Hereros, which so sorely taxes German financial resources, is attributed to the provocations of English agents. It is insinuated that the rebellion is maintained by British gold.

Germany is the stronghold of the Jewish power. The great Hebrew financial families, almost without exception, hail from the Fatherland. They are the masters of the situation. Their control over peace and war is almost absolute. The sufferings of their coreligionists in Russia do not prevent them from financing the persecuting Power. The ring of the shekel drowns the moan of the Ghetto. The German Jews have nothing to lose by a war; much to gain. There is a strong reason why they would like to see European nations embroiled in strife. They know that if Germany is to wait until the death of the Emperor Francis Joseph, the Kaiser would be compelled to find his outlet on the shores of the Mediterranean. This is a prospect which they do not relish, because, if Prussia, where they are omnipotent, were to join with Austria, the anti-Semitism of Austria would reduce, if it did not annul, their influence in Prussia. It is by no means owing to the influence of the Vatican alone that the extension of Pan-Germanism has been checked in Austria. The Jews, who are the shrewdest diplomatists in the world, recognize that Pan-Germanism is hostile to Jewry in Austria. The German Jews are not naval men and none of them are to be found on board German battle-ships, and therefore the German Jews have no liking for German enterprise southwards. When Germany extends her territory to the Adriatic, the situation of the Jews will be precarious. It is quite possible that a great federal republic, strong enough even to defy the Kaiser, may follow the break-up of the Empire of the Hapsburgs. For these reasons, the Jews who have nothing to lose by a war with England are opposed to action southwards.

The Kaiser is one of the most brilliant, lovable and fascinating personalities of the day. It is enough to be brought into contact with him to recognize the magnetism he emits in conversation with men and women. Impressionable women might worship him as a demigod; impressionable men might adore him as Gourgaud adored Napoleon. Still, this military diplomatist, the Kaiser William II, is a factor of war. It must not be forgotten that

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his ambitions are boundless, and his capacity, according to the popular estimate, is undeniable. Many shrewd judges have their doubts as to His Majesty's practical capacity. Up to the present time, the Kaiser has spoken enormously. As an orator, he is fluent, voluminous and emotional; but his speeches bulk more largely than his achievements. Compare the Germany of 1888 with the Germany of 1904. What has he done? Where is the difference in favor of the new ruler? He is no longer a young man, and he knows that he will be judged by history, if not by his contemporaries, not according to what he has said, but according to what he has done; and he also knows that he will be judged not by what he does in the future, but by what he does now, for it is the simple truth that never again will the stars in their courses give him the chances which are offered to-day. And, furthermore, do not let us lose sight of the fact that, as all roads lead to Rome, so all the schemes that the busy brains of German statesmen concoct are directed, sooner or later, and in some form or another, against the existence of Great Britain.

President Roosevelt's election as Chief of the Great Republic has removed from the path of the Kaiser the one difficulty that stood in his way. When President Roosevelt publicly accepted the bronze statue of Frederick the Great which the German Emperor offered as "a gift of friendship to the American people," no ceremony was wanting, no splendor was lacking to mark the President's sense of the Emperor's kindly purpose. The delay in the erection of the statue occupied German public opinion for more than two years. Had a Democratic President been elected, the rising against the commercial trusts in the United States would have reverberated in Germany and would have rendered the situation in the Fatherland insecure. Trusts, cartels, monopolies are as powerful in Germany as in the United States, and the Kaiser derives his chief support from these influences. Hence the delay in accepting the statue of Frederick the Great, and hence the enthusiastic telegram which the Kaiser despatched when President Roosevelt's election was announced.

With the United States neutral, Russia friendly, France impotent and England blind, the situation is favorable to a move on the part of Germany. For the first time since the birth of the Empire at Versailles, Germany has nothing to fear from Russia. Great Britain, with incredible lethargy, has ignored the les-

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sons of the Boer war. Her finances are disorganized; she has no army worth speaking of; and her fleet, though numerous, is armed for the most part by guns which are denounced in Admiral Togo's secret reports to the Japanese Admiralty as "useless in modern war." The most obvious move for Germany is to find some way of throwing Great Britain and Russia against each other. Germany has done her best in this direction. For the present, she has failed; but there is no reason why the failure to ignite the explosive mixture of Anglo-Russian jealousies may not succeed another time.

The second string of the German Emperor, but his real objective, is a move towards Holland. There is little doubt, if not in consequence of the recent Anglo-French convention, at all events to safeguard their own interests, that in that event the French would mobilize their forces with as little delay as possible. But how could France attack Germany? There are only two French lines of attack, both of them intersecting neutral ground—one passes over the mountains of Switzerland, the other through the plains of Belgium. The question arises whether the Belgians would concede to the French army a free passage through their country, which is still the cockpit of Europe. If Germany and France only were in question the answer might be doubtful. Great Britain being interested in the fray, the answer is not in doubt. Belgium and the Belgians hate England and the English. The antipathy of the Belgians for the English is insensate, mainly because the English press has justly attacked the horrible administration of the Congo State. The Belgian army is by no means contemptible from the military point of view; and, if it defended Belgian territory against the French, German troops would gain ample time to enter Holland and to occupy the strategic points therein. If the English army were ready at an hour's notice to embark for Holland and seize the strategic points, thus giving time to the French army to overcome Belgian resistance, Germany might not dare to seize the favorable opportunity that now presents itself. But it is not ready. The one question, therefore, to-day is: Will the Kaiser dare to attack Holland? It seems that he has some difficulty in making up his mind, and that he finds it necessary, before making a forward move, to set his Russian and English neighbors by the ears. If the Kaiser dallies too long, he may lose his opportunity; and, although he

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may desire a more propitious state of things than that existing at present for the realization of his projects, it is unlikely that it will occur.

No wise man supposes that war is about to die a natural death. A few years ago, the late M. de Bloch wrote some clever books about the effect of quick-firing guns and long-range repeating rifles. According to him, war had been rendered impossible. M. Bloch's views were exploded by the South-African war, and by the still more dramatic events of the war in the Far East. To men like the Japanese samurai, nurtured in the traditions of the knightly spirit of Bushido, there are no bullet-swept impassable zones. In no previous wars have intrenchments been so often successfully stormed. Napier does not record the capture of so many batteries under the régime of Brown Bess as are recorded since the modern rifle was invented. War has become more brutal. It is reverting to its primitive aspects. Germany to-day represents war, and Germany must be strictly watched and checked. The expansion of the German population, the impossibility of extension southwards, eastwards, or westwards, necessitates the capture either of Holland or of colonies or of both. Before the manifest destiny of Germany to collide with England, anti-Russian prejudices ought to disappear, and the British public should narrowly examine its antipathy to Russia and sympathy for the Japanese who hesitated so cautiously as to whether their movement for expansion should be made in the direction of Korea, Indo-China or Australia.

ARNOLD WHITE.

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THE CENTENARY OF SCHILLER'S DEATH.

BY WOLF VON SCHIERBRAND.

THE London of Elizabeth; the Versailles of Louis XIV; and the Weimar of Carl August—each was the centre of a great nation's literary golden age, and yet each how unlike the other! The age of the English renaissance, how it glitters and scintillates! How gallant and brave the men! How fair and erudite the women! On the ocean, the great Armada defeated, and the Hawkinses and Drakes and Raleighs laying the foundation of Britain's globe-encircling empire. Ashore, life seethes and boils; and, at the Mermaid Tavern, a half-score of literary Titans revel and feast in their Gargantuan way, Shakespeare among them, the greatest of them all. A time overflowing with nervous energy, colossal ambition, unmatched gifts!

At the polished and resplendent court of the *Roi Soleil,* Molière, Corneille, Racine bowing the knee in humble obeisance, and tuning ever anew their lyre in praise of the mighty monarch. The greatest era of French letters was also the acme of French political preponderance, a time when France alone faced a world in arms, when the lilies floated over virgin America.

And now look upon Germany! At the time of Schiller and Goethe, Wieland and Herder, Germany was wallowing in the very depths of political abasement, the prey of a haughty foreign conqueror, a mere "geographical idea," a heterogeneous conglomeration of hundreds of petty, impotent states. The peculiar historical development of Germany, its decentralization, the diffuseness of its culture and the marked difference in the ideals and sentiments which prevailed in its various provinces—all these things are sharply mirrored in the fact that it was at the court of an insignificant sovereign, at the capital of a ruler of a territory a few miles in width and with a population amounting

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barely to that of one of half a dozen American cities of to-day, the two great stars of modern German literature, Schiller and Goethe, shone and shed their lustre over the surrounding kingdoms and principalities of Germany. Weimar was the humble home of the German muse. To-day, the tourist, hurriedly pacing the streets of the sleepy little city, is struck with the anomaly.

Whatever modern German literature has become, it owes scarcely anything to the wise, patriotic, fostering care of Germany's great rulers. Frederick the Great was for years the bosom friend and patron of Voltaire; but for the rising generation of German poets, essayists and dramatists he had nothing but scorn.

Seldom has a young and ardent poet confronted the world under more untoward circumstances than faced young Friedrich Schiller. Like Goethe, he got his poetic temperament from the maternal side. His father, captain in the Duke of Würtemberg's small army, for years served as chief of the recruiting-office in Gmünd. His "most serene master," Duke Carl Eugene, was one of those base German sovereigns who sold their subjects as "cannon fodder" to other Powers, especially England, and with the proceeds led a luxurious life. And, although Captain Schiller is said to have exercised his office with much humaneness, it is quite probable that young Schiller got from his father's experience in Gmünd the inspiration for the horrible scenes in "Intrigue and Love" (*"Kabale und Liebe"*), which even to-day make the reader shudder. A rude tyrant this Duke certainly was; and, as he had kept another outspoken poet among his subjects, Schubart, a close prisoner for years in his feudal Bastille, high up on the Hohenasperg, so he drove the greatest Suabian of them all, Schiller, into flight and banishment at the age of twenty-three.

Yet there is no gainsaying that Carl Eugene, odious tyrant as he was, had his good points, and the academy he had founded, first at the Solitude and next at Stuttgart, was a fine creation. This institution aimed to teach almost everything. It was unique in its scope and methods, educating men of every profession and art, including music, painting, sculpture, even landscape-gardening and engineering. The fine calibre of the graduates shows its sterling worth. Among the fellow pupils of Schiller were such men as van Hoven, the eminent physician; Dannecker, the gifted sculptor (from whom we have the best bust extant of Schiller); Nast and Conz, Mohl, Hegel, Kerner, and Hauff, all men of note

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in different lines. Scharffenstein and Massenbach, famous generals, were classmates of Schiller. All of them, though, loved and admired young Schiller; and in 1793, when the great poet, almost at the zenith of his powers, visited his dear Suabian home, they flocked together from everywhere to greet him. Schiller then had just been appointed "Court Councillor" of Weimar, and had written his treatise on the æsthetical education of man. Nevertheless, at a drinking bout with some of these friends of his youth, the heady young wine of the Neckar overpowered him. It had been his intention to "drink them under the table"; instead of which he himself in his vinous ecstasy rolled all over the massive board of the tavern.

Schiller was then thirty-four, married and a university professor; but his buoyant, Bohemian nature clung to him more or less through the remainder of his short life of forty-six years. In this respect, and some others, he reminds one of Robert Burns. Schiller, too, wrote some of the finest Anacreontic songs in the German tongue. And all this despite extreme poverty throughout life. When the Körners offered him an asylum in Dresden for a time, in 1785, he was almost at starvation-point; this was the time when he wrote his magnificent "Song to Joy," as well as his "Don Carlos." When Goethe secured for him a professor's chair of history in Jena, the salary was 200 thalers (about 145 dollars) a year. In those days and until his death, apples and strong coffee had become his inexpensive passion. The apples he usually kept in a drawer of his writing-desk, and their odor, he claimed, furnished him inspiration. When he wrote his last, and perhaps most finished, drama, "William Tell," a year before the end came, he was so overworked and badly nourished that at night he kept himself from falling asleep at his work by munching apples and steeping his bare feet in cold water. When he wrote his "Fiesco," while a fugitive at Mannheim, he lived joyously on a diet of potatoes—potatoes baked, boiled, fried; potatoes, of which he had bought a cart-load from a peasant, and which with their bulk took up about half the floor space in his garret. No wonder his health broke down! Even Chatterton affords no more pathetic spectacle. Abject penury was Schiller's portion through life.

But Schiller came from Suabia, and that explains much. Suabia, cradle of the Hohenstauffens and birthplace of the Minnesingers in mediæval times, as it was of Uhland, Novalis, Hölder-

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lin, Kerner, Hauff, Mörike, and so many other notable German poets, has always endowed its children with far more than the normal German share of poetic sentiment and sturdy love of freedom. That small part of Germany, which is popularly termed Schwaben (Suabia), even to-day, though the bulk of it is properly styled Würtemberg and portions of it have gone to Bavaria and Baden, has produced more and greater poets than has the whole of Prussia with twenty times its size.

Now, what has made Schiller preeminently the national German poet, the favorite poet of German youth and German women?

Schiller's quenchless enthusiasm; his noble pathos; the extraordinary wealth of imagery in all his writings; his love of liberty and the emphasis he lays everywhere and always on human worth; his contempt of caste and rank distinctions; his moral exaltation, his purity of thought and polish of expression; his glorification of Love and idealization of Woman; the wide range of his sympathies and of his chosen subjects—these qualities of his work, doubtless, made him the favorite author of German youth and womankind, nay, of the German masses. Together, these distinctive qualities of his muse constitute a claim to affection and popularity such as no other German writer has ever been able to present, not even Goethe or Heine. Any one at all familiar with German literature will know from numberless biographies of noted Germans that it was Schiller's works, and more particularly his poems, which moulded their early thought and youthful aspirations. All through the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century, Schiller stamped his impress on the national mind and heart. That Germany was known through those three generations as the "country of high thinking and low living" was, primarily, due to Schiller. His idealism and cosmopolitanism prevailed among high and low. Rarely has a poet exercised for so long such an overpowering and general sway over the sentiment and intellect of his race. It overtopped by far that of Goethe. Indeed, Goethe has never been "popular" in Germany, though a few of his works have been. He has always been, and he remains to-day, the poet of the select few; and not only Heine, but such second-rate stars as Uhland, Theodore Körner, Kleist, Hauff, have been, during nearly all this time, successfully vying with him for the prize of popularity. If ever a poet could be termed "national," in the broadest sense of that word, it is Schiller.

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This is seen by every test. First and last, millions more of his works have been sold than of those of any other German writer. His poems are to be found in nearly every German home, however humble, by the Rhine or the Hudson, the Danube or the Mississippi. Schiller's dramas are performed on every German-speaking stage on the globe, and they always "draw," whether in Berlin or New York. Quotations from Schiller are more often used and more generally understood by Germans than are those from Shakespeare in the English-speaking world. About the last things a native German will forget abroad are the ballads of Schiller he learnt by heart when a small boy.

The Schiller conception of the world; his notion of country, home and family, of love, honor and duty; his belief in the brotherhood of man, the oneness of the universe, and the inherent goodness of the human heart; his idea of Divine government—these things, within a decade of the poet's death, became part and parcel of the German soul. On November 10th, 1859, at the hundredth anniversary of Schiller's birth, though Germany was at that date still a political nonentity, and though union under one head and one flag seemed immeasurably distant, the unanimity and enthusiasm with which the day was celebrated wherever German speech prevailed, irrespective of political division, were truly remarkable. Every school-child of that period was taught to be, and did become, a lover and admirer of Schiller.

Thus it remained until the war with France in 1870-71. As in so many other things, that war wrought a change in this respect as well. Political unity was achieved; the aggressive, turbulent neighbor, whose power had hung for centuries like a nightmare over German aspirations, lay in the dust; Germany was once more great and potent; her material resources under the new impetus developed at a wonderful rate; the French milliards seemed inexhaustible, and the nation was intoxicated with its success and military glory. The Schiller ideals vanished from the national consciousness; they were submerged, buried out of sight for the time. In lieu of the "brotherhood of man" was taught the new creed of the sovereign virtue of military supremacy and of a narrow Jingoism. Germany became wedded to a crude and brutal materialism, and this by a natural process of reaction. It became the fashion among the younger generation of Germans to sneer at Schiller and his idealism; to minimize his merits as a

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poet, and to deny his vocation as a moral teacher of the nation. This state of feeling was strongest in Germany during the eighties, and the young school of poets and dramatists which then arose had inscribed contempt of Schiller on its banner. What, they argued, do we want of a poet who glorified foreign nations, foreign rulers, foreign popular heroes—one who had not even a presentiment of our own national grandeur,—who was instrumental in depreciating the sense of our own fitness to play a conspicuous part on the world's stage? These young writers, in a word, tabooed and ostracized Schiller and his works, and when referring to him in their own writings did so in terms of reproach or scorn. This was the time when nearly every young German deemed himself a Bismarck, a disciple of Nietzsche, and a believer in the creed of the Overman and of a status "beyond good and evil."

But, after all, this was a condition of things which could not last long, because it was unnatural. These young spokesmen of the literary life of Germany never represented the bone and sinew of the nation, nor the feelings and thoughts of the average German. Their rude "naturalism" and their abnormal national conceit clashed with the better self of their countrymen, and from the war of opinions rose anew the Schiller cult, the popular appreciation of his works. During the past fifteen years, Schiller has been replaced on the pedestal on which he had stood for so long. Once more the German people, high and low, recognize in him the poet who most admirably expresses the German soul at its best, the national consciousness at its truest.

It is of interest, then, to note the ideals, literary, political and social, for which Schiller stood; how far these have been realized since his death, or else discarded or modified. To bring out these points involves at the same time the presenting of a species of political and psychological portrait of the German people of Schiller's time and of to-day.

Schiller's chief ideals were political freedom and social enfranchisement, not for his own Germany alone, but for the whole civilized world; this meant, of course, cosmopolitanism. In the main, Goethe shared these ideals with him (at least until after Schiller's death, on May 9th, 1805), and it was this fact in part which made the two great poets friends and mutual admirers—a fact to which Goethe once gave whimsical expression, saying:

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"The German people ought not to quarrel as to which of us is the greater, but to be glad they have got two such fellows."

In his work Schiller was extremely conscientious. No pains were spared by him, either in the conception or execution. Schiller's correspondence with Goethe and a number of other literary friends for whose opinion he cared, makes that plain on almost every page. His historical and philosophical writings were based on enormous study and research. So were his dramas. The preliminary work to "Mary Stuart," "Don Carlos," "Maid of Orleans," "Bride of Messina," "William Tell," "Wallenstein," embraced years of diligent inquiry. His "Robbers," even, the firstling of his dramatic labors, was founded on real events which at the time created a sensation, and so was his "Intrigue and Love." Though beautiful, finished diction was natural to him—and, indeed, no other German poet can compare with him in the epigrammatic, highly chiselled form—he would rewrite his manuscript again and again, and would take counsel with others, until the manner of expression tallied precisely with his thought.

Schiller's poetic activity is usually divided into three periods: first, the period of "storm and stress," ending in 1783, during which he produced his earlier poems and the three dramas, "Robbers," "Fiesco," and "Intrigue and Love"; next, the æsthetic-philosophical period, concluding with his historical works and the "Æsthetic Education of Man"; and, lastly, the so-called classical period, in conjunction with Goethe, 1793-1805. Though the man did not alter materially all this time, the character and scope of his work widened and became chastened with maturity.

In his youthful dramas, especially, there is, here and there, license rather than liberty. The outward circumstances of his life had much to do, no doubt, with this. His native part of Germany, Würtemberg, was ruled much as it is described in "Intrigue and Love"—a seraglio and all the other sensual delights for the petty autocrat, and misery, oppression, injustice for the people. Schiller strongly sympathized with the first stage of the French Revolution—as, indeed, did the vast majority of the German nation, high and low—and the National Assembly made "Monsieur Gilles" (that is the way Schiller's name was spelled in the document) an honorary citizen of France. But the Reign of Terror caused him to modify his first opinions, and in the "Song of the Bell" we find the reflex of this change.

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Indeed, it would be going too far to assert that Schiller at any time of his life had well-defined political views, or, at least, a political programme. His love of liberty was in part born with him, in part imbibed from the accounts of the American War of Independence, and in part due to what he saw and heard around him as boy and youth. It was an ardent feeling with him, but it never led him to formulate an ideal of government; his notions regarding government, indeed, vacillated considerably during different times of his life. It is but necessary to read his works with some attention to become convinced of this. In his dramatic fragment, "Demetrius," in the scene of the Polish Diet, he puts into the mouth of Prince Leo Sapieha the words:

> "Majority! What is majority? Majority means absurdity;
> For reason has e'er been only with the few. . . .
> That state is doomed, I say, must perish soon or late,
> Where mere majority decides and holds the scale."

In his quatrain, "*Majestas Populi,*" a contribution to the "Xenien," he takes even broader ground against the cardinal principle of modern republics; and so he does, too, in his short poem, "To a Reformer of the World." In "The Song of the Bell," written soon after the September horrors of 1792, he castigates the men and women of the Mountain. In the "Bride of Messina," in form one of his most beautiful dramas (and in which he made an attempt to revive the ancient chorus), he decries the "rule of the multitude," "mob rule," etc. He speaks to similar import in "The Misanthrope." Contrast this with the many passages in his earlier works where he talks in quite a violent strain of human rights, rule of the people, justifies (in "Fiesco") tyrannicide, etc. Nevertheless, with all these changes, and though Schiller's liberalism never rose to the height and dignity of a political system, the love of freedom, the longing for juster and more enlightened forms of government, burned steadily on. And it was in his very last dramatic production, in "William Tell," that these sentiments once more found sublime utterance:

> "Nay, there is a limit to tyrannic power:
> When the oppressed nowhere justice finds,
> His burden is unbearable—he stretches forth
> His hands and from high heaven
> He seizes once again his inalienable rights."

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In his "William Tell," then, the last and clarified expression of his political and social ideals, we see Schiller once more glorifying the creed of his youth. When the play was for the first time performed in Berlin, the general conviction was that in it the poet had aimed at the great Corsican, though this seems to have been an error. But, at any rate, among all the works of Schiller appealing to that abstract love of liberty in Germans which forms so strange a contrast with frequent passive acquiescence in practical tyranny, none has equalled "William Tell."

However, it is in the nature of things that the present radically altered political conditions of Germany should also have modified the popular German views as to Schiller's political and social creed; for, measured against the status prevailing in Schiller's time, with its iron caste and rank distinctions, its absolute autocracy, its denial of all political rights to the subject, Germany to-day is even a paradise. To a certain extent, and in a certain sense, Schiller's creed no longer applies to present-day Germany. Goethe (in his "Talks with Eckermann") occasionally caught a glimpse of Germany's political future. Schiller never did. The very conception of a modern republican form of government, of a constitutional monarchy, was foreign to him. His historical works, especially his "Alienation of the Netherlands" and his "Thirty Years' War," are serviceable even to-day. They abound in interesting details obtained at first hand, and they throughout breathe the spirit of liberalism. But, of a great harmonious conception of the modern body politic, they show nothing. It is liberty *per se* which enthuses the poet.

Schiller's influence abroad has, perhaps, been greater than that of any other German writer, with the possible exception of Heine. During parts of the nineteenth century, Schiller's dramas competed with Shakespeare's on the English-speaking stage. Carlyle did much in England, by his translations and otherwise, to popularize him, and Coleridge aided in the task. In this country, it was, however, a German who felt the call to deliver Schiller's message. The man was Carl Follen, exiled from home because of his liberal political views. His lectures on "Schiller's Life and Dramas," given before Harvard in 1832-1833, accomplished much in this line. Harvard University it was, too, which this year first celebrated, on American soil, the centenary of the poet's death.

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But, indeed, memorial ceremonies or festivities are being held in multitudes of places—above all, of course, in Germany, where almost every town of any size is giving a series of model performances of Schiller dramas; where "*Festschriften*"—publications specially devoted to the purpose—are appearing, adding more or less new material to our knowledge of Schiller's life; where the Schiller prize for the best new dramatic production, awarded every third year by the Kaiser and a committee of literary craftsmen, will this year be strenuously striven for. Among these new Schiller publications, specially deserving are those published under the auspices and patronage of the Suabian Schiller Society and of the Schiller Stiftung in Weimar; but perhaps even greater merit attaches to a book, "*Schiller's Jugendfreunde*" ("The Friends of Schiller's Youth"), by Julius von Hartmann, which is based on authentic data and furnishes much that is new and of interest. It was stated in some public prints that the Kaiser was to offer a large prize for the successful completion of the two most promising fragments left by Schiller, viz., "Demetrius" and "Warbeck." The former takes its subject from Russian history and was finished entirely in its plot and about one-half in its metrical diction. It shows the rise and fall of the "False Dmitri," the pretender to the throne at Moscow and the alleged son of Ivan the Terrible. Doubtless, if carried out on the lines laid down by Schiller, this would make a strong drama full of human interest. The first and second acts are finished and rank among the best the poet has produced. The experiment would be all the more interesting because no Russian, or any other writer, has ever written a drama on this topic. "Warbeck" treats of a stirring episode in British history, at the close of the War of the Roses. Schiller had not proceeded quite as far with this as with the other.

The year 1905 sees, then, Schiller among the few generally recognized great poets of the world. His message in the main still rings true to our ears and to our hearts.

WOLF VON SCHIERBRAND.

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COMMON SENSE OF THE RAILROAD QUESTION.

BY FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM NEVADA.

FROM the days of the fathers, the nation has dealt with the problems of self-government, one after another, as they have arisen. It has often viewed them, at first, with apprehension; then grappled with them, solved them, and passed on.

The problem of the hour is monopoly in instrumentalities and commodities essential to the common comfort and prosperity. Of these, the first to be dealt with is the monopoly of transportation. There are three general views in regard to this question.

The great financiers and railroad operators are opposed to any public regulation. They believe the problems should be left to the practical and experienced men who have brought the transportation system to its present state of efficiency.

The President and a very large majority of the House of Representatives believe that the Interstate Commerce Commission should be empowered to revise rates upon complaint, subject to review by a court of transportation. A bill has recently passed the House to this effect.

There is a third view, which seems to be growing rapidly in popular esteem, in favor of outright Government ownership.

I cannot agree with the railroad operators that nothing should be done. The power to fix rates of transportation is the power to affect the cost of everything which enters into common consumption, and, thus, in great measure, to regulate the standard of living of our people. Such tremendous power cannot safely be left, without restraint, in private hands.

As to the measure which passed the House by the overwhelming vote of 326 to 17, I fear it will be disappointing in its results. It does not present a scientific solution of the problem. It leaves the power of taxation with forty-five States and thousands of local po-

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litical subdivisions, so that there can be nothing in the way of uniformity or permanency in this item. It makes no provision for the valuation of the property, nor does it make any attempt to indicate what would constitute a reasonable rate of interest on the investment. It does not touch the evil of overcapitalization, nor does it propose anything which would abate the alarming evil of political control which has come as an unavoidable incident in the growth of corporate power.

While the sentiment favoring Government ownership is increasing, it is plain that the country is not ready for such ownership at this time. The most serious objection to it is that it would interject 1,300,000 employees into the political patronage and render it difficult to drive from power the party controlling this vast influence, however desirable a change of administration might be.

On January 4th, I introduced a joint resolution in the Senate (S. R. 86, 59th Cong., 3d Sess.) providing for the appointment of a special commission, to consist of four experts on transportation and transportation law, five Senators and five Representatives, instructed to frame and report to Congress a national incorporation act prepared upon certain principles. This resolution was referred to the Interstate Commerce Committee, which has called upon the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Bureau of Corporations to make report as to the plan outlined, with such suggestions as may be deemed advisable.

The object of my resolution is to unify and simplify the railroad administration of the country; to recognize the evolution in railroading, under which the operation and management of almost the entire railroad mileage has come under the control of about six well-known groups or systems; to place such systems under national incorporation and control; to make the taxes of the railroads fixed and certain; and to provide for fixed dividends, so that hereafter any increase of business will tend mathematically either to a betterment of the roads, to an increase in wages, or to a diminution in rates. These purposes I would accomplish by the following methods:

1. The requirement that all railroads engaging in interstate commerce shall incorporate under a national law in accordance with certain conditions not only permitting, but favoring, the consolidation of railroads.

2. The valuation of all such railroads by the Interstate Com-

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merce Commission, and a capitalization not exceeding such valuation.

3. The revision by the Interstate Commerce Commission of all rates, so applied as to yield an annual return of not less than four per cent. on such valuation.

4. The exemption of railroad property, including stocks and bonds, from all taxes except a tax on gross receipts, such tax to begin at three per cent. and increase at the rate of one-fifth of one per cent. each year, until it reaches the maximum of five per cent. This tax to be collected by the Government, then distributed among the States and Territories on some equitable basis.

5. The creation of a pension fund for employees disqualified, either by injury or by age, from active service, by setting aside in the treasury a percentage of the gross receipts of the railroads.

6. The arbitration of all disputes between such railroad corporations and their employees as to compensation, hours of labor, and protection to life and limb.

In the United States, there are 200,000 miles of railroad, owned by about 2,000 corporations, and controlled by about 600 operating companies. But these operating companies have gradually come under the management of six great groups of ownership, each group dominated by a single individual, or by a few individuals. These groups are popularly known as "The Morgan," "The Gould-Rockefeller," "The Harriman," "The Vanderbilt," "The Pennsylvania" and "The Moore" groups.

With two or three exceptions, these 2,000 corporations are organized under State laws, though under the existing groups and systems they are operated regardless of State lines, three-fourths of the transportation business of the country being interstate. Corporations organized in one State can operate in other States only by the comity of the latter. The general policy of both the State and National Governments has been against pooling or consolidation of any kind, on the theory that competition is desirable as a means of preventing excessive rates and securing improved service. Nevertheless, practical consolidation has been effected and competition largely eliminated through various methods of leasing, trackage arrangements, holding companies, and community of interest. As a rule, these methods have not been tested in the courts, but in the case of the Northern Securities Company the method was tested and adjudged invalid.

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The fact is that the railroad, whether in the hands of the Government or of a private corporation, is a natural monopoly. The steady trend of consolidation is the outcome of economic forces which cannot be controlled or appreciably impeded by legislation. The present system is complicated and expensive, involving the maintenance of many unnecessary corporations, the bond and stock issues of which constitute a mass of perplexity confusing alike to the investor, to the tax-assessor, and to the rate-regulating Commission.

It is clear that there should be unity of ownership, recognized by the law, of such railroads as are now linked together in interstate commerce regardless of State lines. As State legislation cannot accomplish this, the railroad corporations should be national,—the creation of the Government whose jurisdiction is as broad as interstate commerce itself, and whose sovereignty rests on every foot of American soil. The power to create such corporations cannot be questioned. It was exercised in the case of the Union Pacific and Northern Pacific Companies. The constitutional powers of the Federal Government relating to post roads, military defence, and the regulation of interstate commerce involve the creation of all the instrumentalities necessary to carry out such powers.

I would require all railroads engaged in interstate commerce to incorporate under a national law, and thus remove every barrier in the way of complete consolidation. I would provide that the amount of stocks and bonds issued for such consolidation should be approved by the Interstate Commerce Commission, and that they should not exceed the actual value of the railroads consolidated, such value to be determined by the Commission. I would provide that the Commission should approve the amount of bonds and stock to be issued for the purchase of connecting or intersecting lines, for the betterment of existing roads, and the construction of new ones; and I would make a rigid requirement to the effect that these securities should not exceed the value of the property acquired or the actual cost of the work constructed. This method would effectually prevent future overcapitalization.

Neither of our political parties should object to this plan of national incorporation on the ground that it favors centralization of power. The Republican party, strongly nationalist as it is, could not; while the Democratic party should not. It is quite

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as Democratic to insist upon the full exercise of powers plainly given to the National Government as it is to insist upon the reserved rights of the States.

I think there would be no serious difficulty in arriving at a true valuation of railroad property. The basis should be the market value of their securities, though other factors may be taken into consideration. We can afford to be liberal with the present investors, if we can secure for all time a valuation based on present conditions and prevent the enormous valuation of the future which increased business and profit will give. Nor should there be much difficulty in determining the rate of interest to be allowed on this valuation. In my resolution, I suggest "not less than four per cent.," leaving the maximum to the determination of the Commission. But, if we are to have an absolutely scientific adjustment of the matter, the dividends should be definitely fixed on a permanent basis, so as to yield an honest return upon an honest investment.

The advantage of my plan is also apparent in the matter of taxes. Railroads are now taxed under forty-five different systems embraced in the laws of as many States. In some they are taxed upon gross receipts; in others, upon a valuation of track, and real and personal property; in others, franchises are included; and in some States a rapid movement is being made towards assessing them upon the market value of the stocks and bonds issued, the contention being that taxes should be imposed upon the same value as that on which rates are collected. The laws of many States also permit taxation of bonds and stock in the hands of holders—a form of double taxation. There is no uniformity, no permanency. Thousands of local officials are engaged in making the valuation and fixing the tax rates. Since the amount of taxes paid is one of the vital factors in determining the net earnings of the property, there can be no scientific basis for fixing dividends while this crude and chaotic system prevails.

I would exempt all railroad property, including bonds and stocks, from all taxation except a tax on gross receipts, to be collected by the national authorities and distributed among the States in proportion to mileage or volume of business. Under this method, stockholders and bondholders would be relieved of that double taxation of which they justly complain, and we would secure absolute uniformity in railroad taxation throughout

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the land. The total taxes of all the roads during the past year amounted to about $58,000,000, equal to about three per cent. upon the gross receipts. I would take this as a starting-point, but provide that taxes should be gradually increased, at the rate of one-fifth of one per cent. per annum, until they reached a maximum of five per cent. on gross receipts. With the present earnings, this would yield about $80,000,000 per annum, but earnings are rapidly increasing. The States should not complain of this arrangement, since they would receive, from the first, all of the revenue they now enjoy from this source, and without the expense of collecting it. Ultimately, they would receive much more than their present revenue.

The question will naturally arise, Has Congress the constitutional power to exempt national railroads from taxation by the States? I think it has. Under a national incorporation act, the railroads would be the instrumentalities of the National Government for the purpose of carrying out its constitutional function of regulating interstate commerce. As such instrumentalities, the act should exempt them from all State and local taxation, because "the power to tax is the power to destroy," and the nation cannot permit the destruction or impairment of its chosen instrumentalities.

The same argument applies to the rate-making feature of my plan. It would be desirable to exempt such national railroads from State regulation as to local rates. It is confusing to have the National Commission and forty-five different State Commissions at the same time act in judgment upon the same subject. And, just as there should be but one taxing power, so also should there be but one rate-regulating power,—this in the interest of simplicity, convenience and certainty. It might be possible for a national incorporation act to exempt national railroads from State regulation of local rates, upon the assumption that the power to fix rates, like the power to tax, involves the power to destroy. But, if it should not be thought advisable to attempt this, doubtless some method of amicable cooperation between the Interstate Commerce Commission and the State Commissions could be effected which would materially increase the certainty of the calculations.

There is another advantage which would surely arise from the adoption of this policy, and which is of consequence equal to, if

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not greater than, the advantages which would follow fixed taxes and dividends and permanent peace for the railroad industry. This is the fact that the railroad would go out of politics. The railroad is in politics to-day because its vast property, amounting to more than ten billions, is between the upper and the nether millstone,—the upper millstone of the rate-regulating power, and the nether millstone of the taxing power. Between the two, save for the protection of the courts, these properties can be ground to destruction. The uncertainty and insecurity of their situation compels the railroads to go into politics. Hence, they take part in the election of every official whose duty is likely to trench in any degree upon the taxing and rate-regulating power. Doing everything systematically, their participation in politics means the organization of a machine in every State of the Union; and, since they pursue the lines of least resistance, this often means alliance with the corrupt element of every community. It is expensive for the railroads; and, worse than that, it is a grave menace to the institutions of the Republic.

I submit that these plans may reasonably be characterized as the common sense of the railroad question. Railroad monopoly has come in the course of natural evolution. We have learned that monopoly is inherent in our modern method of transportation. Let it be no longer outlawed, but frankly recognized, welcomed and made legal. The way to do this is by means of national incorporation.

Vast capital is required to create and maintain transportation facilities adequate to the needs of our growing country. This capital is justly entitled to its fair reward, yet cannot be permitted to fix its own profits; for it is not in human nature, and certainly not in the nature of corporations, to consider profits from an unselfish standpoint. Not only is this true, but the railroad is so intimately related to every other industry, and to the daily life of all our people, as to make it desirable that the best service should be rendered at the lowest cost. Indeed, every saving that can be effected in this regard tends to raise the standard of living of the masses. How shall we realize the best service at the lowest cost? Clearly, by giving the railroad investment the largest measure of security and the greatest certainty of earning-power. Consolidation under national incorporation is the sure road to this result. It means increased efficiency,

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greater economy, cessation of wasteful competition and of demoralizing strife between the railroads and the people. It means, too, fixed dividends upon an agreed valuation.

There is a feature of all railroad regulation which seems to have escaped the attention of those who have framed bills on the subject. Rate regulation means, unquestionably, the limitation of dividends upon the investment. This is, in a sense, an invasion of property rights, and demands the concession of compensating advantages. When the public limits the dividends upon a given investment, the public ought to secure them. This is what will happen under the proposed plan. Virtually, the nation would guarantee a certain low rate of interest upon the investment.

Under this plan, the vast increase of transportation business in the future will tend to the reduction of rates and the advantage of the people. The appreciation of values which has occurred up to the time this act goes into effect rightfully belongs to the owners of railroad property. They invested in a speculative undertaking, took their chances, and created a property valuable to themselves and indispensable to the public. But now we propose to eliminate the speculative element, and to create conditions which will make railroad securities almost as good as Government bonds. In return for this great advantage, we ask that capital shall be content with a reasonable dividend upon *present* valuation. The increase in business which will inevitably arise in the future with the growth of the country will then inure to the benefit of the people in three forms. First, they will get it in the form of betterments, extensions, and constantly improving service. They will get it in the form of better conditions of employment —higher wages and shorter hours for the 1,300,000 men actually engaged in the railroad industry, and a pension fund to secure them in sickness or old age. Finally, this increase will be transmuted into public benefits, in the form of constantly lowering rates of freight and passenger traffic.

The evils of overcapitalization, of stock speculation and of corporate control of political affairs are not touched by the measure passed by the House of Representatives. Under my plan, the first would be completely done away with, the second would be greatly modified and the third would be eliminated in so far as it arises from the regulation of taxes and rates.

While this joint resolution does not pretend to be a perfected

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piece of legislation, I believe it contains the germ of a railroad policy which will do equal and exact justice to all parties concerned. To capital, it will give security and assured dividends; to labor, it will give an impartial tribunal for the arbitration of disputes as to wages, hours and safety appliances; to the public, the lowest rates consistent with the investment and that high degree of efficiency which is born of modern methods. And to the capital invested, labor employed and the public served, it will, through the action of an impartial tribunal of high character and dignity, charged with the duty of settling all disputes, bring peace and immunity from constant agitation, and put an end to the continuous warfare which has heretofore existed between the railroad and its employees, and the railroad and the public.

It is plain enough that the people are restive under existing conditions. They are alarmed by the evidence that railroad rates are likely to fall under the absolute control of a few men, and that individuals will be subject to the absolute sway of these few men in matters vitally affecting their interests. The railroads are public highways. The service is a public service, and the conviction is gradually growing in favor of Government ownership.

Unless the railroad system is unified and simplified, the complexity of the situation will drive the country to Government ownership as a solution of the difficulty. The argument in favor of it is simple. It is urged that the Post-office Department is already engaged in transportation which is conducted to the entire satisfaction of the people; that its work now involves expenditures equal to about one-seventh of the operating expenses of all the railroads; that an enlargement of its operations could be secured by organizing a Division of Transportation in this Department; putting at its head a capable man, trained and experienced in railroading; authorizing suit for condemnation against all railroads, the Government entering into immediate possession and retaining the present force of employees and officials, eliminating such of the latter as may be unnecessary under unified conditions; the condemnation to cover simply the interest of the stockholders, the market value of which is now about $4,000,000,000, leaving existing bonds aggregating about $6,000,000,000 as a lien upon the property, to be retired as they mature with Government bonds at 2½ per cent., the stock to be paid for by a present issue of Government bonds at the same rate.

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The railroads are now capitalized at about $12,000,000,000, one-half in bonds and one-half in stocks. The market value of the total issue is now about $10,000,000,000. The gross revenue of all the railroads for the past year was about $1,950,000,000, an increase over the preceding year of about $175,000,000. The operating expenses now aggregate about $1,260,000,000, leaving about $690,000,000 as the net income. It is urged that, under Government ownership, the Government would have to pay out of this net income the present interest on existing bonds, amounting to about $270,000,000, and 2½ per cent. on the $4,000,000,000 of the Government bonds, issued in lieu of existing stock, about $100,000,000, or $370,000,000 in all, leaving $320,000,000 for betterments, extensions and a sinking-fund for the redemption of the bonds. This latter sum can be increased by the gradual reduction of the interest on the railroad bonds from an average of 4½ per cent. to 2½ per cent., a saving of $120,000,000 annually. It is contended that a sinking-fund could thus be provided which would extinguish the entire debt in less than fifty years, and leave the operating expense alone as a charge upon the commerce of the country.

Such is the attractive side of Government ownership; but it ignores, of course, the possible evils of bureaucracy, unbusiness-like methods, political patronage, etc.

The plan of Government ownership has the attractiveness of simplicity and directness. National ownership can, in my judgment, be met successfully only by a policy of national incorporation and control, which has the advantage of almost equal simplicity and directness. I believe the policy I am advocating would give the country nearly all the benefits of Government ownership, with none of its dangers. It would abolish the evils arising from unrestricted monopoly, prevent the entrance of over a million men into the political patronage, eliminate the present corporate interference with and control of our politics and retain in the transportation service the initiative, the enterprise and the administrative capacity of the brilliant men whose genius created our present magnificent system of transportation out of the crude conditions which prevailed a generation ago.

FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS.

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THE NEW MONROE DOCTRINE.

BY EDWARD S. RAPALLO AND DOMINGO B. CASTILLO, FORMERLY UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE IN VENEZUELA.

I.

Our national experience thus far has demonstrated the justice and wisdom with which the people have in the long run decided the great political questions relating to the life and development of the nation. The gravity of the various problems now awaiting ultimate solution is clearly apparent, as well as the far-reaching consequences which will follow the conclusions finally adopted. It should certainly inspire great confidence in the outcome to observe the general interest and thoroughness displayed in the consideration and widespread discussion of the questions relating to the future regulation of our industrial enterprises, many of which have grown to be so colossal because of recent merger and consolidation; of the questions relating to the degree of control which the Federal government should exercise over railroad corporations and over the affairs of corporations transacting business in a number of States; of the questions relating to Federal taxation and tariffs; of the questions relating to our future attitude toward the dependencies which have recently come under our sway; and of the questions relating to our foreign policy.

The present time seems especially available for these discussions, which can now take place without those disturbing influences and prejudices necessarily incident to national political contests. During a period in which no election campaign is pending, we should expect to find the minds of the people more open and free for the impartial contemplation and satisfactory adjustment of these matters.

Our foreign policy has undoubtedly become a subject of greater importance than formerly to ourselves and to others, because of

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the events and developments of the few years last past. The average citizen possesses now a more accurate knowledge than heretofore of the origin, history and scope of our Monroe Doctrine. Keener interest has been attracted to it by the information so widely diffused through articles in magazines and newspapers. At all times, but never more than now, has the policy understood to be embodied in that doctrine met the approval of the people of this country and received a support practically unanimous. The most conspicuous single feature of our foreign policy, this Monroe Doctrine has acquired an adherence connected in the public mind with the idea of patriotism.

Quite recently, however, suggestions have been made as to the scope and effect of that doctrine which must be recognized as novel and as foreshadowing, if adopted, a material enlargement of that scope and effect. The crucial sequence of ideas which constitutes the new departure may be observed in the propositions promulgated in substance as follows:

First.—That European Powers, in order to redress wrongs committed against them by independent American republics, are liable to find it necessary to take possession of American territory, or to undertake control of the government of such offending American nations;

Second.—That the United States cannot justly assume to forbid such possession and control, as incompatible with its own peace and safety, without insisting that the offending American nations shall be just in their conduct; and, therefore,

Third.—That the United States, in adhering to the Monroe Doctrine for its own safety, thereby, as a necessary incident, becomes subject to the obligation of a duty, and possessed of a corresponding right, to exercise itself such control over the conduct of the independent American nations as to compel them to act justly, and thus prevent such nations from making necessary this dangerous aggression by any European Power.

It is, evidently, a logical necessity to these new pronouncements that the European possession and control referred to in the first proposition must be such as to constitute an infringement of the Monroe Doctrine.

This, then, appears to be the foundation for the newly asserted right on our part to criticise and dictate the conduct of sovereign neighboring nations in the south, and to regulate and control to

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some extent their national affairs. With this also goes the tremendous obligation of responsibility for their conduct. From the point of view of established rules of international law, does not the very conclusion itself cast suspicion upon the process of reasoning by which it is reached?

Is the foundation of this new theory sound? Is it ever necessary that a European Power, merely to enforce its rights or to redress its wrongs, should permanently possess the territory of an American republic, or erect therein a government of its own, or oppressively regulate the destiny of such republic, or in fact do any of the acts heretofore described in our public documents as infringements of the Monroe Doctrine? If not, the whole new fabric, the newly discovered corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, falls to the ground; for such appears to be the basis upon which it must rest.

In extreme cases of wrong-doing and injustice, or refusal of reparation, the seizure by a foreign government and temporary retention of a South-American custom-house, or a bombardment, or the exercise of force on land by the troops of a foreign monarch, or temporary occupation of territory as security for promised redress, might be justifiable methods, which would not necessarily imperil the peace or safety of the United States. Even in modern times, upon the termination of a great war waged for the supposed redress of some wrong, the victor often exhibits a desire to occupy permanently the territory of the vanquished foe, and to erect a government therein. A final adjustment is sometimes reached, notwithstanding that such result fails of accomplishment, and is prevented by other interests. Take, for an example, the case of Manchuria after the war between China and Japan. Nor does it follow that those who interfere to prevent thereby assume responsibility for the conduct of either contestant. Will it not be difficult to demonstrate by historical precedent that such permanent occupation and appropriation of territory, or that oppressive control by the victor, such as our doctrine prohibits, are ever the sole means, and therefore necessary, for the redress of national wrongs?

There seems small room for doubt that the proposed new departure in the interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine is based upon, substantially, the chain of logic described above. The President's letter to the Cuban dinner committee clearly assumes

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a right to criticise and correct the national conduct of southern nations. The recent letter of acceptance implies the same assumption of authority; for, after declaring that the Monroe Doctrine has never before been acquiesced in abroad as it is now, the letter continues:

"While upholding the rights of the weaker American republics against foreign aggression, the Administration has *lost no opportunity to point out* to these republics that those who *seek equity* should come with clean hands, and that whoever claims liberty as a right must accept the responsibilities that go with the exercise of that right."

The grounds alleged for the existence of this right of control over the conduct of sovereign friendly nations in South America in their dealings with others, have been fully explained in a formal public address delivered in New York by a man of great influence in this nation, high in the councils of his own party, and recently a member of the present Administration. Because of these circumstances, as well as the difficulty of conceiving any other plausible grounds, his explanation has been received and discussed as authoritative and practically official by the people in this and other countries. The three numbered propositions above contain the crucial part of his explanation. According to the reports, this explanation was thus summarized:

"The declaration of the President of the United States is . . . that what we will not permit the great Powers of Europe to do on this continent, we will not permit any American republic to make it necessary for the great Powers of Europe to do. The *obligation* of civilization *to see that right and justice are done* by these republics which we protect with our strong arm against oppression by the other Powers of the world is an *obligation that always must go with the right that we assert.*"

The same speaker, on the same occasion, recognizing the dangers possibly confronting us, said:

"The only relation which carries the *possibilities of war* for this country, is that created by the declaration and the adherence of the American people to the doctrine which is called the Monroe Doctrine."

Does it not seem almost possible that strict adherence to this doctrine, as newly interpreted, involving the permanent assumption by us of so much greater obligations, might precipitate upon us a war concerning the proper interpretation of the word

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"justice"? It is conceivable that a European Power, suffering a fancied grievance from a southern republic, might well apply directly to our government for the redress of its wrong, saying: "You have announced your responsibility for the just conduct of your neighbor, and have followed such announcement by actually controlling or influencing his conduct." Our answer might be: "Our neighbor's national conduct has been in our opinion just." Or a South-American nation may say: "You have exercised control over our conduct, and we are about to be subjected to punishment upon the ground that such conduct has not been just. Protect us from any punishment."

In view of the numerous important political questions awaiting decision by the people, it is quite unlikely that one relating to the proper interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine will be decided as a party issue. It is, however, extremely probable that a well-defined public opinion as to the true scope and meaning of that doctrine, involving as it does the germs of war, would be recognized and obeyed by every Administration in this country. For the effective crystallization of public opinion upon this subject, it must be recognized that the present proposed interpretation gives a new scope and effect to the doctrine, involving a new course of conduct. Place in contrast, then, the former interpretation.

The language of President Monroe contained in his message of 1823, so often quoted now as the initial announcement of our policy, is: "We should consider any attempt on their part (*i. e.*, the part of European Powers) to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." He further announced that any interposition on the part of such Powers for the purpose of oppressing or controlling the destiny of governments here, whose independence we have acknowledged, would be viewed by us as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States. These announcements were made at about the time, and actually in view, of contemplated efforts on the part of France, Russia and Prussia to subjugate the Spanish-American republics, revolted from Spain, but whose independence we had recognized. It may be true that the particular form of danger to the interests of this nation which would arise now from the infringement of the Monroe Doctrine by a European Power, is other than it would have been then. It has, however, never in our history been suggested that such infringement

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would be harmless to us in case of the previous bad or unjust conduct of the occupied American republic, and only harmful to us in case of the previous just conduct of the oppressed American republic. The good or bad previous conduct of one of our neighbors neither mitigates nor enhances the dangers to our nation which, we announce, will arise from the subjugation of that neighbor. It was the existence itself of the empire of Maximilian upon Mexican territory to which we objected, when we demanded that France should not maintain that form of government with her troops. Our own Administrations have repeatedly announced that we have no intention of relieving any American republic from its obligations as fixed by international law, nor of preventing any interested Power from enforcing such obligations, nor from inflicting merited punishment for the breach of such obligations, and that we guarantee no State against punishment. On the contrary, we have announced that, because injurious to our national interests, such punishment must not take the form of forcibly depriving an American State of the right and power of self-government. We have stated our objection to the acquisition of American territory by a European Power, and the establishment therein of a European government. As formerly interpreted, the probability of a war arising from an enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine appears indeed remote. Although our overwhelming moral and physical power in this hemisphere would naturally designate this government as the most suitable and effective one to which an application for advice and assistance could be made in case of difficulty here, we should be no more responsible for the conduct of American republics than for that of any other sovereign nations, if the old interpretation of our foreign policy be the correct one. We should be free to protect ourselves against injury arising from complications of any nature, equally in this hemisphere as in the other. We could not, however, actually under a claim of right exercise unusual control in South-American affairs, nor with propriety threaten to do so in letters or public announcements.

Public opinion must in the end determine which of these divergent policies is our true one. Perhaps all will agree that the most far-sighted foreign policy for this nation will be such as will enable it to reap the full advantage of the singularly independent geographical position of its territory, and the industrial inde-

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pendence of its people, arising from the great variety of climate and soil embraced within its boundaries. A conduct of our foreign affairs which, while affording protection to the rights of our citizens in foreign countries, will tend to keep us free from the grave disturbances incident to disputes and complications with other nations, and encourage the opening of peaceful channels for the distribution of our surplus products in localities where their superiority will make them welcome, seems most conducive to our national growth. By this course the splendid energies of the people may be continuously and uninterruptedly devoted to the development of their country.

EDWARD S. RAPALLO.

II.

THE American press has of late endeavored to hold up the United States of Venezuela before the world as the one South-American republic which most requires, in its internal affairs, the intervention of the United States, in order to preserve the integrity of the Monroe Doctrine.

This question has been placed before the American people in a very much distorted way by the opponents of President Castro's policy.

The situation, undoubtedly, presents aspects of most vital interest to the United States, and it is my intention in the course of this article to discuss fully the entire controversy from a non-partisan standpoint, and to prove that the present aggressive attitude of certain European Powers towards Venezuela is a mere diplomatic pretext to determine another issue of international moment, viz: to what extent the United States Government, in view of its recent acquisition in the East (an unwarranted intrusion in European eyes) will attempt to uphold the Monroe Doctrine.

It is a well-known fact that, since the United States took possession of the Philippines, these European nations, jealous of her growing prestige, with Germany as spokesman, have been seeking to promulgate a new principle of international policy, viz:—since the United States, contrary to the settled policies and principles of the past, may extend its possessions and spheres of influence in the Far East, upon what theory can it deny a similar right to

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European Powers as far as the New World is concerned, especially as it claims that the rights of its citizens in countries remote from its territorial limits are to be protected and its commercial interests advanced?

In 1901, the disputed claims of German subjects against the Venezuelan Government gave rise to the looked-for opportunity to raise the issue directly. Various foreign subjects resident in Venezuela had furnished General Castro with supplies during the revolution which he led. When he finally succeeded in establishing a constitutional Government, with himself as President, they demanded that he recognize these claims as valid obligations of the new Government, payable from the national Treasury. This was Germany's opportunity.

Castro, while conceding the justice of certain of the German claims, insisted upon the right to have their validity passed upon by the commission appointed for that purpose by the laws of 1873 and 1893, under the provisions of which the claimants were accorded the fullest justice, including the right of appeal to the Supreme Court of Venezuela.

The German Government, however, flatly refused to recognize the decisions arrived at in the matter of these claims, either by this commission or by the Supreme Court, as binding upon its subjects and expressed the desire to settle the matter directly with the Executive; but it is inexplicable how the German Government, while accusing that Executive of influencing the judicial arm of the Venezuelan Government, could have thought it wise to deal with a branch of that Government which it had already accused of partiality.

By the action which she took, Germany, in effect, denied the sovereignty of the Venezuelan Republic, and maintained, contrary to every known and recognized principle of international law, her right to set up in a foreign independent nation a tribunal of her own making, for the settlement of claims in which she was most interested. Apparently, the only motive for this policy on the part of the German Government is found in its hidden purpose to attack the sovereignty of that South-American commonwealth, and thus become involved in the internal affairs of the Western Hemisphere.

Venezuela owed it to her dignity as a nation to decline to permit foreign intervention in the settlement of these claims which

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were made upon her national Treasury. This proposition of Germany to deal directly concerning these claims with the Venezuelan Executive practically involved the denial of the independence of the Republic.

The German Legation having thus constituted itself judge and jury, and totally disregarding the local tribunals, peremptorily ordered the payment of 1,718,815.67 bolivars, which amount was their own estimate of the German claims. The order also required the Venezuelan Government to make immediate payment of the aforesaid sum, even before discharging any of her other existing obligations. And it was to enforce this order that the ports of Venezuela were blockaded by Germany and the nations who joined her in this new European diplomatic game of chess.

The defenders of the Monroe Doctrine failed to see in this aggressive conduct the deep thrust aimed at themselves.

Venezuela was compelled to pay, under protest, by the right of might; and the Monroe Doctrine proved of no avail at that crisis, because the intention at the present day is to preserve the integrity of South America only as a North-American property and without regard to the institutions of the South-American republics or their historical sovereignty. It is easy to see that, when the laws of Venezuela are violated within her own bounds, the integrity of her territory is not recognized.

At this very time, Venezuela was doing her best to pay everybody, and particularly the Germans. As a proof of this assertion, it may be stated that the Government was then paying the claims of the German railroad, incurred by the transportation of troops of President Andrade over their system.

At this time, also, the Venezuelan Government found itself compelled to deal with other serious complications growing out of the unreasonable and arbitrary position taken by the British Government in the "Ban-Righ" incident.

The "Ban-Righ" was a filibuster engaged in fomenting a revolution against President Castro, and having on board General Matos, the chief of the revolution. When this ship was not occupied in distributing munitions of war among the Venezuelan revolutionists, at various points along the coast, she lay most of the time in the harbor of Trinidad and other British waters, resorting frequently, as occasion demanded, to the use of the Colombian flag, an abuse which was not discountenanced by the Trinidad

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authorities. The British Colonial Government of Trinidad, although perfectly cognizant of the unlawful enterprise in which this vessel was engaged, and of the frequent proclamations issued from her by General Matos, took no steps to prevent this flagrant and continued violation of the law of nations. When the matter was finally put before the British Minister, in such a way that further evasion on his part was impossible, he merely stated that the vessel belonged to the United States of Colombia, whither his Government had ordered her to return. He added bluntly that the Home Government was fully aware of all of the facts in the case, and entirely approved the course adopted by the Colonial Government; and that, so far as the British Government was concerned, the incident was officially closed.

Thus, Venezuela found herself "between the devil and the deep sea." On one side, the Germans were denying her national character, and, on the other, the British Colonial Government of Trinidad, with the consent of their Home Government, were conniving at the efforts of the Venezuelan revolutionists: yet, these are the very people who come forward and allege that there is no order in Venezuela, and that the nation does not meet its obligations.

In the question lately presented with regard to the Western Hemisphere, the situation of the Venezuelan international affairs has not been taken into consideration. In the protocols of February, 1903, there is a provision whereby the nations to which Venezuela is indebted can collect the 30 per cent. accorded to them without resorting to diplomatic intervention or coercive measures. Venezuela is really meeting her obligations, and wishes to do so in the future; but, at the same time, her Government very justly insists that everybody must respect and observe the laws of the Republic.

Every student of political history knows that, in certain emergencies, any nation may be compelled to suspend temporarily the payment of its obligations and to meet that indebtedness at a later period; and it is the height of injustice to contend that any nation, finding herself in this unfortunate situation, should be condemned to suffer a complete and immediate spoliation at the hands of her powerful neighbors.

The purpose in disregarding these facts and principles, as it seems to have become customary to do in the United States, is to

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maintain the new international signification which has been given to the Monroe Doctrine since the successful outcome of the Spanish-American war. And here I desire to call attention to the primitive meaning of the Monroe Doctrine.

In the message of 1823, the declaration is very explicit in regard to the Western Hemisphere. It says:

"With the Governments who have declared their independence and maintain it, and whose independence we (the United States) have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we (the United States) could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European Power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States."

In 1826, President Adams defined the Doctrine in a very plain form. According to the ideas of this statesman, "the United States is not obliged to stand guard over the two Americas." The Doctrine expresses only "the proposition of getting the states of the New World to agree that each for itself, and by its own means, should guard its own territories, and consequently that the United States neither give nor receive aid in any such enterprise, but that each should use its own means, within its own borders, for its own exemption from colonial intention."

With the entrance of the United States upon the stage of nations as a full-fledged Power, President Roosevelt has thought it convenient to give another interpretation to the Monroe Doctrine. He has expressed himself with regard to the Western Hemisphere as follows:

"It is not true that the United States feels any land hunger, or entertains any projects, as regards the other nations of the Western Hemisphere, save such as are for their welfare. All that this country desires is to see the neighboring countries stable, orderly and prosperous. Any country whose people conduct themselves well can count upon our hearty friendship. If a nation shows that it knows how to act with reasonable efficiency and decency in social and political matters, if it keeps order and pays its obligations, it need fear no interference from the United States. Chronic wrong-doing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, may in America as elsewhere ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrong-doing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power.

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"If every country washed by the Caribbean Sea would show the progress in stable and just civilization which, with the aid of the Platt amendment, Cuba has shown since our troops left the island, and which so many of the republics in both Americas are constantly and brilliantly showing, all question of interference by this nation with their affairs would be at an end. Our interests and those of our southern neighbors are in reality identical. They have great natural riches, and if within their borders the reign of law and justice obtains, prosperity is sure to come to them. While they thus obey the primary laws of civilized society, they may rest assured that they will be treated by us in a spirit of cordial and helpful sympathy. We would interfere with them only in the last resort, and then only if it became evident that their inability or unwillingness to do justice at home and abroad had violated the rights of the United States, or had invited foreign aggression to the detriment of the entire body of American nations. It is a mere truism to say that every nation, whether in America or anywhere else, which desires to maintain its freedom, its independence, must ultimately realize that the right of such independence cannot be separated from the responsibility of making good use of it.

"In asserting the Monroe Doctrine, in taking such steps as we have taken in regard to Cuba, Venezuela and Panama, and in endeavoring to circumscribe the theatre of war in the Far East, and to secure the open door in China, we have acted in our own interest as well as in the interest of humanity at large. There are, however, cases in which, while our own interests are not greatly involved, strong appeal is made to our sympathies. Ordinarily, it is very much wiser and more useful for us to concern ourselves with striving for our own moral and material betterment here at home than to concern ourselves with trying to better the condition of things in other nations. We have plenty of sins of our own to war against, and under ordinary circumstances we can do more for the general uplifting of humanity by striving with heart and soul to put a stop to civic corruption, to brutal lawlessness and violent race prejudices here at home, than by passing resolutions about wrong-doing elsewhere." *But, inasmuch as we have thought in the past to advance our interests and commerce in South America, we will continue in our policy towards all these Southern Republics, and by so doing, together with a vigorous opposition by means of the Monroe Doctrine to all European Powers, we hope to eventually see all the Western Hemisphere under the all-powerful protection of the North-American Eagle.**

Some over-zealous editors, expressing their opinions *apropos* of the declaration of the President, have mentioned Santo Domingo and Venezuela as affording probable occasion for the United States intervention, with a view to preventing the intrusion of European Powers in the New World and maintaining the integrity of the Monroe Doctrine.

* D. B. C.

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In the light of this novel interpretation of the principles underlying the Monroe Doctrine, as hitherto understood, the South-American people may expect to see the United States appear before them with the same purposes and animated by the same motives that have actuated the Powers of Europe. History does not offer any illustration of so emphatic a pronouncement as the one lately made by the Chief Executive of the United States.

If, by "chronic wrong-doing" in any foreign country, the United States is obliged to render its protection abroad, in order to defend the natural laws of men, this nation is really transformed into a new Don Quixote, "ready to undo offences and to protect the weak." And, that being so, it is necessary to inquire why this new self-dubbed knight has not gone into Russia to preserve the rights of the millions of Slavs, who are suffering under the despotic practices of the Czar. There are many enterprises in which, by virtue of the new attitude, the nation ought to take a hand. The war in the Far East offers an opportunity for the intervention of this new American knight,—of powerful figure,—in the name of humanity.

If the principle is of universal application—there is no suggestion of a limitation to it—some other nation might appropriate it and come to the United States to deliver the people from the influence of the capitalists, who have combined for the purpose of sapping the blood of the poorer classes.

In the face of this kindly purpose on the part of the United States, and of the natural conservatism of the South-American republics, the whole affair seems to offer a most apt illustration of the old Spanish proverb: "The mule thinks one thing, and the man, who is going to saddle him, another."

The South-American republics, contrary to the opinion expressed by President Roosevelt, differ entirely from the Great Republic of North America in every characteristic, both as regards the modes of living of their people and their national feelings, particularly in regard to their economical interests, which cannot be said to be in any way similar to those of the United States.

In South America there are natural riches, as is observed in the President's message; but these riches are a treasure inseparably bound up with their own national ambitions—a treasure which will be developed in accordance with the social evolution which is at present taking place in a manner peculiar, but by no means

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unique in history; and if, in the course of this evolution, blood is being spilt, that is simply because of an error which has crept into the minds of the people, to the effect that a political change, often repeated, will bring about prosperity, while the fact that the welfare of a country is really the outcome of social economy, and not of financial aid, is entirely lost sight of.

These republics have also long since recognized the fact that, on their side, assimilation with the United States is quite impossible, and that a total supplanting of their peoples would be the only means of insuring a successful issue for such plans as this new interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine would involve. In view of these decisions of the South-American people, it may be readily understood that any attempt, on the part of the United States, to force on them either the idea of assimilation or the more extreme one of supplantation will meet with most rigorous and, if necessary, armed opposition.

With regard to the intention of introducing the Platt amendment in dealing with any of the independent republics of the Western Hemisphere, such an introduction, on account of the unwillingness of these republics as expressed above, must be looked on as an intrusion, which would be totally out of accordance with the views taken by the wisest statesmen of earlier days, such as Washington, Monroe, Adams, etc.

And the question may well be asked: What man living to-day could conscientiously take it on himself to speak for these grand old men of the past, and voice their opinion of the new uses of the doctrine which was set forth by them to secure the welfare of their fellow countrymen, but which is being used to-day for the purpose of spreading spheres of influence and, incidentally, increasing the territory of the United States?

President Roosevelt in the course of his message goes on to say that "it is a mere truism to say that every nation, whether in America or anywhere else, which desires to maintain its freedom, its independence, must ultimately realize that the right of such independence cannot be separated from the responsibility of making good use of it." And in this declaration is found the key-note of the President's policy, which must act as a warning to the South-American republics as to his intentions toward them. There is no precedent in history for such an utterance; and, in the absence of a precedent—nay, even assuming that the

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Monroe Doctrine had provided for taking such measures—the question resolves itself into this: By what right does any country arrogate to itself the power of interfering in the domestic affairs of a foreign independent nation?

If, in reply to this question, any Power maintains that it is justified in interfering—of its own volition, and entirely in opposition to the wishes of the country over which this Power is intending to extend her protecting arm—with any little independent State, then all small nations are but nominally free and independent, right becomes a myth, and the small nations themselves occupy the position of a flock of sheep shepherded by a tiger.

President Roosevelt's recent pronouncement on this matter of interfering with South-American republics calls for consideration of a question which arises out of it, and which is of vital importance even to the United States itself: If, by virtue of the new meaning of the Monroe Doctrine, the United States intends to unite the whole New World under the Stars and Stripes, will the European Powers stand by and regard this new state of affairs with equanimity? If not, the complications resulting from unwillingness on the part of Europe to connive at the wholesale swallowing up of the American continent by the Eagle, must involve a universal war, which can only have one issue—*i. e.*, the entire dismemberment of South America at the hands of Great Britain, Germany and France; and, furthermore, the safety and independence of the United States itself may be threatened. In the event of this most undesirable result occurring, the blame will lie solely at the door of this distorted view of the Monroe Doctrine, which has already been violated by the appropriation of the Philippines.

The idea of being subject to any European Power is naturally repulsive to every free-born American; the possibility of this state of affairs ever coming about is very remote; but, should it ever appear to be nearing realization, Americans would offer an opposition which would only end with death. In view of this determination on their part to preserve their independence at all cost, how can the people of the United States entertain the idea that the republics of South America, which are as free and as independent as themselves, whose peoples are opposed in every way to the Saxon race, not only on account of racial reasons, but

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also on account of the differences of social, political and religious interests—how can they expect that these people will be willing to come under their sway?

It will, therefore, be seen that the South-American republics are determined to remain as they are, and the American people would do well to consider carefully the possible consequences of an enterprise aimed against these republics before giving it their support, for, if the Philippine problem contained a somewhat unwholesome dose for "Uncle Sam," the South-American republics will prove to be a dose of poison.

One word more. The Cuban question, as it has been settled by the United States, is simply the natural result of the Hispano-American war; the settlement of the Panama affair has been realized solely because the Colombian Government did not have the courage necessary to expose a scandal, whereby the interests of all South America would be affected. But any enterprises directed against the other republics of South America, particularly Venezuela, will probably not meet with the same success.

DOMINGO B. CASTILLO.

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THE CALL OF LORD KITCHENER.

BY ANGLO-INDIAN.

WHEN the Prime Minister tells us that the problem of the defence of the British Empire is the defence of the borders of Afghanistan, he strikes a note which may jar on the ears of the insular kingdom, and vibrate uneasily through the vast Empire of India. It awakens us to the fact that sea-power is no longer sufficient; that the doom of all Continental nations has at last fallen on the careless expansion of Great Britain; and that we are coming face to face with the phantom of conscription. The problem is as old as our Indian Empire itself. It has been the subject of the controversies of the Lawrence and the Forward schools; it has been the riddle of our statesmen and our great soldiers; it has been exaggerated and belittled, but it is regrettably persistent, and cannot be shelved. Mr. Balfour is absolutely accurate in his description of the problem. It is the defence of the British Empire, and this imperial fact will not be forgotten when the question of ways and means has to be considered. But Lord Curzon and Lord Kitchener, who are striving to solve and not to shelve the problem, will as practical men devote themselves to its local aspect, which is, primarily, the defence of India against Russian aggression.

Of late, the old controversy has been hushed, and the policy on the northwestern frontier of India has been an honest effort toward military concentration as against diffusion, and toward tribal conciliation in place of exasperation. The spirit of military adventure, which was once supposed to inspire our frontier officers, has disappeared, exorcised by the knowledge that excursions over the boundary were fraught with serious consequences to the British Empire at large. Of late there has been ample food for anxious thought. The disturbances which were anticipated

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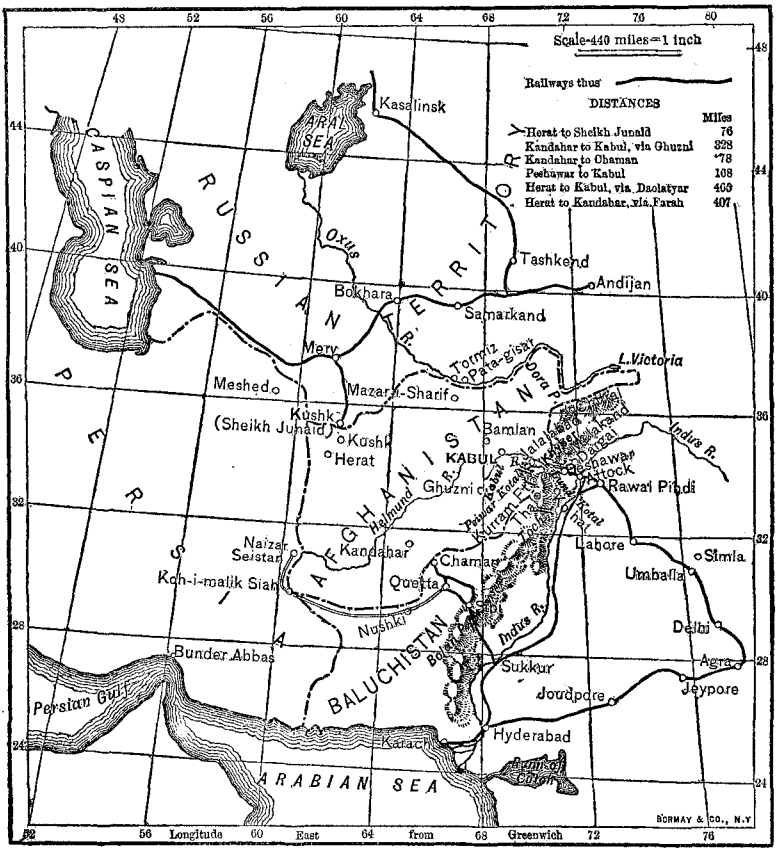
when Abdur Rahman passed away have not occurred, and the Amir Habibulla still holds intact the Afghanistan which his father gripped with an iron hand. Events in the Far East have set all men thinking—Afghans, Persians, and in India the rulers and the ruled; while the strenuous activity of the Russian engineers and the approach of the Merv-Kushk and the Orenburg-



NORTHWESTERN INDIAN FRONTIER AND ADJACENT TERRITORY.

Tashkent railways to the gates of Herat, and the precincts of Mazar-i-Sharif, make us call for maps and scan closely the country north and west of Afghanistan.

Great confidence is felt in Lord Curzon's ability to neutralize the consequences of Russia's steady advance. He has practically

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devoted his life to the study of the complex Eastern question, and his knowledge of the Indian frontiers is perhaps unique. He may be trusted to lose no chance, and to take no unnecessary risks. Equal confidence is felt by the British public in the Commander-in-chief of India. Lord Kitchener has won a reputation for strategy, efficiency and economy, and he too is not likely to run useless risks. We may feel sure that any scheme for the defence of India which is put forward by these two brilliant and experienced men will be comprehensive, complete; but, withal, cautious.

Our object in this article is to explain the measures which are being taken by Lord Kitchener to safeguard India from attack. He has visited the frontiers and formed his own opinions on the spot. He has personally or through his officers formed some ideas as to the comparative merits of the various races which make up his fighting strength. He is not responsible for ordnance, commissariat, transport and military works, but in his military colleague—Sir Edmond Elles — he has an able and prudent guide. By this time he has realized the financial limitations of the Government of India, and acquired some knowledge of the political situation in India and beyond her borders. He must master all these branches of knowledge before he can formulate a scheme for the defence of India.

The problem before Lord Kitchener is the defence of some 700 miles of frontier lying between Karachi and Peshawar. For a general understanding of the problem, we need only look at Peshawar leading to the Khyber pass and to Kabul; Kohat, of which the route runs to the Peiwar Kotal; the Tochi pass by which Ghuzni is approached, and the Bolan pass which runs to Quetta, Chaman (the rail head) and Kandahar. The first three lines pass through a wild, mountainous and difficult country infested by treacherous and turbulent tribesmen. Punitive expeditions, blockades, and blackmail are the methods adopted by the Indian Government for coercing or conciliating our restless neighbors, but the effect is transient; and when the boys of the last expedition have grown to be men, and the fanatic priest has been succeeded by a still more truculent *mullah,* the trouble begins afresh.

Beyond the tribes is Afghanistan—that baffling buffer-state. It is almost our own creation, for it rested with us to give or

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withhold the province of Kandahar when we made Abdur Rahman Amir of Afghanistan. By money we helped him to start his administration, and by an annual subsidy of 12 lakhs* of rupees from 1883—raised ten years later to 18 lakhs—we have enabled the Amirs to carry on the difficult task of ruling perhaps the most unruly country in the world. This subsidy was for the payment of the Afghan troops, and for other measures required for the defence of the northwestern frontier of Afghanistan. At the great Rawal Pindi Durbar in 1885, the Amir Abdur Rahman said in the presence of us all that he was ready with his arms and his people to render any services that might be required of him or the Afghan nation. "As the British Government has declared that it will assist me in repelling any foreign enemy, so it is right and proper that Afghanistan should unite in the firmest manner, and stand side by side with the British Government." And with these brave words our friendly neighbor and ally returned to inscrutable Kabul, never again to set foot on Indian soil. Ten years later, so satisfied were we of our neighbor's good-will that, "wishing to see Afghanistan independent and strong, the Government of India will raise no objections to the purchase and import by His Highness of munitions of war. They will themselves grant him some help in this respect."

In dealing with Abdur Rahman, we were dealing with perhaps the most capable character that has ever paced the Oriental stage; and it was politic to give him a blank check, and to trust to his self-interest to spend the money on making Afghanistan strong and independent. It was, perhaps, politic to avoid too minute inquiry into the "further measures required for the defence of the northwestern frontier of Afghanistan"; but our diplomatists might have remembered that Abdur Rahman was not immortal, and that some guarantee would have proved useful, when the great Amir passed away. Our good money has gone, but we know nothing of the Afghan troops, or the defence of the northwestern frontier; and though we are responsible for the foreign relations of Afghanistan, we are in the ridiculous position of undesirable aliens or isolated outsiders at the court of Kabul. There may be the love of the friend and ally, but it is most carefully and constantly dissembled. The situation is difficult and embarrassing for the statesman. It is equally dif-

* A lakh of rupees equals about $30,000.

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ficult for the soldier. How is Lord Kitchener to defend the Afghan borders, if he is in doubt as to the real intentions of the Amir and his people? There are only two guarantees of the good faith of Afghanistan. If she wants her friend and ally to stand side by side with her against aggression from the northwest, she must make his paths straight and easy. She must construct, or allow to be constructed, railways from Chaman to Kandahar and Peshawar to Kabul, and she must connect Herat, Kandahar, Kabul and Mazar-i-Sharif with the telegraphic system of India. In the second place she must leave the tribes on our frontier severely alone; and, if she were wise and in real earnest as to co-operation, she would join hands with us in drawing the fangs of the Afridis and the Waziris. These tribes are a constant menace to the peace of our frontier, and they will be an obstacle and peril when we advance into Afghanistan. It is greatly to be regretted that in the fighting-days of Abdur Rahman we did not earmark some part of our subsidy for the pacification of the frontier tribes. Nothing would have knit the two nations more closely than the brotherhood of arms.

If one looks at the map of Afghanistan one notices Herat, Kandahar, and Kabul. The first has been called the gate of India, but it is only the lodge-gate, and there is a long, but on the whole an easy, drive before India is reached. From the Indian point of view, Kandahar is more important, while Kabul as the capital is by far the most important of all. Herat cannot be defended for long against attack; and, if war breaks out, it would be prudent to destroy the fortifications and to remove all stores. The invader may be delayed, but he cannot well be stopped before he reaches the Helmund. If, indeed, Afghanistan is to be defended, Kabul and Kandahar must be held in force. Large British armies must be thrown into their neighborhood, and this cannot be done without railways. Afghanistan is a miserably poor country. Every patch of fertile land is cultivated and the food-products barely suffice for the sparse population. Those who remember the operations of 1878-80 will never forget the enormous difficulties which attended the supply of our troops in Afghanistan, yet they were a mere handful compared with the armies which will be required if we be called upon to assist the Amir in repelling a foreign enemy. The supplies must come from India; and, if we push our railways to the furthermost points of

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our frontier, it will be most difficult to feed our troops unless the railways be carried to Kandahar and to the neighborhood of Kabul. We are confronted with a dilemma. It is quite possible that, when Afghanistan is invaded from the northwest, the Amir and the majority of his people will turn to us for assistance. They know that we have no definite intentions of absorbing their country and of pushing further west. And they equally know that Russia has very definite intentions of reducing Afghanistan to the status of a Khanate as a preliminary to the conquest of India. But it is no use turning to us too late, no use asking us to undertake an impossible task. What can Lord Kitchener count on if he enters Afghanistan? He will find no supplies. What will he find in the way of trained soldiers and munitions of war? We know little of the Amir's regular army or of the output of the ordnance-factory. Some guess that the regular army consists of about 70,000 men; and all say that the regiments are without capable officers, and that the guns, rifles and ammunition, whether imported or manufactured at Kabul, are jealously and timidly withheld from the troops. It is an unknown quantity, and Lord Kitchener cannot count on useful auxiliaries; nor, indeed, can he afford to discount the rabble of Afghan fighting-men as possible guerrilla opponents. It seems so obvious that the Amir—alive, at last, to the danger threatened by Russian railways—should hasten to ask us for officers to take stock of his arsenals, to train his regiments in musketry, and to advise as to the fortifications which will be essential for effective resistance. But here the Amir is met by a dilemma. Boastful and conceited as is the Afghan, he knows that the British adviser has an awkward way of becoming a dictator. The Amir has inherited many of his father's ideas, and he knows that British assistance must mean a British protectorate. There is something almost pathetic about the expression used in the agreement of 1893. We wish to see Afghanistan "independent and strong." The Amir wishes to be "independent and strong," but he realizes that it is a contradiction in terms. He can only be strong for the purpose of repelling Russian invasion if he has British troops and British officers and agents *permanently* located in Afghanistan, and he and his people know that such strength is incompatible with independence. At all points of the problem there are dilemmas and difficulties; and it is well to remember

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this fact, and to bear with the Amir in his difficulties with patience and consideration.

One of the wisest men who ever helped to make Empire in India once wrote:

"You wish the red line of England on the map to advance no further. But to enable this red line to retain its present position—to prevent its being drawn back or erased from the map—it is, it appears to me, absolutely necessary to occupy posts in advance of it. I cannot see how, consistently with safety, it can ever be otherwise with regard to a great Empire held by a foreign Government, as we hold India. A severe struggle within our established limits with a powerful invader—although attended with immediate success to us . . . might render it necessary to maintain large armies in the field in the interior of our dominions for a protracted period, in order to restore that internal tranquillity which might not be in the least disturbed even by many battles fought beyond our frontier."

It is more than fifty years since General John Jacob wrote these words, and India has changed, and some of the outposts in advance of the red line of those days have been occupied, but many still hold to the policy enunciated while railways were still in their infancy. Lord Kitchener has to deal with a larger and more difficult problem than that which faced General Jacob and the great men of that time. It is true that he has a larger and far more efficient army than existed in the fifties; he has railways, and rapid communications with Great Britain, and he has, it may be hoped, a far more peaceful India to police and to defend than was the India which passed from the Company to the Crown. The *Pax Britannica* has transformed British India, and has changed the aspect of the vast territory—some 680,000 square miles—which still remains under the rule of the Indian Princes. These are no longer interesting historical survivals, or doubtful factors to be jealously watched, but in many cases are active colleagues of the British administration, contributing towards the defence of India by the maintenance of highly efficient regiments known as the "Imperial Service Troops." If proof were wanted of the peace of internal India, we need only look back a few years, when the Indian garrison was depleted by 31,000 men for Imperial purposes in South Africa and China. It was a time when British prestige suffered an eclipse, but no sign of unrest was visible in India.

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Long before Lord Kitchener took up the high office of Commander-in-chief in India, the character of the Indian Army was changing. Originally a force for the preservation of peace within India and for repelling raids on the frontiers, it has for many years been quietly prepared for the larger eventuality of meeting a civilized Power. Gradually, the hardier soldiers of the North have been substituted for the gentler and less efficient races of the South, and the sepoy is now recruited, not for the easy duties of the Indian garrison, but for the more trying conditions of the frontier and beyond. Rigid economist as he is reputed to be, Lord Kitchener cannot solve the problem formulated by Mr. Balfour without increasing the expenditure on the Indian Army, and the figures steadily grow—fourteen millions sterling in 1900, sixteen millions in 1902, and an estimate of over nineteen millions in 1904. If we look at the size of India, larger than Europe if we exclude Russia; if we look to the population, some 300 millions of people; and if we look to the enormous trade rising by leaps and bounds—nineteen millions does not seem a heavy sum to pay for insurance; but it represents nearly one-fourth of the total revenues of India. A large share in the increase is due to the rise in pay of the British troops—a very doubtful measure, for which Lord Kitchener and the Indian Government are in no way responsible. The remainder is due to the change in the status of the army, from occupation and police to defence, and we find that the chief items are armament, stores, transport and mobilization. Lord Kitchener does not increase his army, but he increases its efficiency. If we include the Imperial Service troops and the Volunteers—a small force under 30,000 men—Lord Kitchener has an army of 203,000 Indians and over 74,000 British regulars. He can increase his Indian troops if he can find the money and if he can simultaneously add to his British force—for the most elementary principle of our Indian administration is that, both in peace and in war, the British soldier should be close to the Indian sepoy, and that the sepoys should not outnumber the soldiers by more than two to one. Another axiom of the Indian military system is that the artillery should—with the exception of a few mountain batteries—be British. Both these limitations cramp the power of expansion; but, civilized as India is becoming, Lord Kitchener still has good recruiting-grounds, and the Sikhs, Ghoorkas, Pathans, Punjabi Mohammedans, and

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Docras, properly trained and well led, will hold their own with any fighting-men in the world. Lord Kitchener has also splendid material for irregular cavalry in the warrior caste of Rajputana, and an endless supply for irregular infantry as he draws near the country of the frontier. But he wants officers. It would not be over the mark to say that for his existing army, and for irregular forces, which might be usefully employed if India had to be defended against a foreign army, more than one thousand officers in addition to the present strength would be required. They must know the languages and the customs of the Indian races, and they cannot be improvised at a moment's notice.

We do not propose to discuss in detail Lord Kitchener's reforms. They are based on the latest experience and the most recent military science, and they aim at making the heterogeneous forces of India uniform, efficient, and ready in peace time to pass into a state of war. Many of his schemes will take time. He wishes to create real native officers possessed of initiative and independence; and, if he succeeds, he will add enormously to the strength of the Indian army. He is straining every effort to make his army self-contained, and in a short time he will cease to depend on Great Britain for his guns, rifles and ammunition. But he must still depend on Great Britain for his British troops, and at this point the responsibility of the Commander-in-chief ceases, and the grave duty of the Defence Committee begins. Lord Kitchener is ready to arrest temporarily the advance of the invader; but, whether his task be the defence of Afghanistan or, as some suppose, the easier task of defending the frontier of India, he must look to Great Britain for reinforcements. If, in spite of the suicidal and suspicious policy of Kabul, we are bound in honor to advance beyond our frontier, "to occupy posts in front of it," we shall want larger and still larger reinforcements; and, even before mobilization, the British army in India should be greatly increased if Lord Kitchener is to maintain the due proportion between the Indian and the British troops, both in the field armies and in the obligatory garrisons scattered throughout India. It is useless to form estimates of the reinforcements which will be required, or to theorize as to when these reinforcements can arrive from oversea. Calculations have been made, nice calculations, as to the exact number of divisions which must be in certain positions within four months

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after the outbreak of war; but it is one thing to calculate, and another to move troops through a barren and probably hostile country. Till the moment comes, no one can say how many regiments will be required to keep up our communications with Chitral and to watch the Waziris; but, to take a concrete instance, Lord Kitchener would have to lock up four brigades of his exiguous force to keep open the twenty-five miles of the Khyber Pass for the advance of his divisions to Kabul. If it is to be done, it must be done on a magnificent scale, and Great Britain must find the men and the money. The defence of Afghanistan is an Imperial matter, and it must be in the main accomplished by British troops. Few who have not served in the inhospitable country of the Amir can realize the hardships of campaigning in that mountainous and infertile region, or can imagine the miseries of the climate—the heat of the passes, and the cold of the plateau. If the campaign be protracted, it is no country for Indian troops. And, if it be done on a grand scale, railways are essential; and with railways the independence of Afghanistan, as understood by the Afghans, will disappear. Railways would civilize the country, and would achieve in one year what our policy has failed to accomplish in half a century; and, if the Amir wishes to see his country strong and in harmony with the times, he must accept the inexorable fact that the advance of civilization must be met by the arts of civilization.

So far as finances and the political conditions of India and Afghanistan will allow, Lord Kitchener will do his part in the problem. He will push his railways to the foot of the Peiwar Kotal and towards the Kabul River beyond Peshawar. He will have every available soldier and gun ready for an advance—it may be for a race—to certain strategic points in Afghanistan; but he must look back anxiously to India itself, to Great Britain and to the sea. At the best, his preliminary task will be difficult, dangerous, and, owing to the Afghan character, thankless; but there is complete confidence in India that this great soldier, with his splendid record of success, will succeed. Even in his preparation, he is beset with dilemmas. Preparation for such a campaign as is now in men's minds is costly, and it may involve an increase of taxation in India. The margin is perilously small, and one turn of the screw might raise political difficulties in India most hampering and embarrassing.

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What does the taxpayer in Great Britain think of the problem? Eventually, he must pay the bill and find the fighting-men for the defence of Afghanistan. Knowing little of the facts, which have been weighed by the Defence Committee, he will look at the map and scratch his head doubtfully as he gazes at the Indian rhomboid. He may ask whether the problem of the defence of the British Empire might not be limited to the defence of India. As he runs his eye down the map and sees Seistan (commanding the Helmund River and the route from Herat to Kandahar) and the Persian Gulf, he may have the uneasy feeling that, if he guarantees Afghanistan to-day, he may logically be invited to guarantee Persia to-morrow. "Where," he will ask, "is the policy of outpost in advance of the red line to end?" This year it may be Kandahar, Ghuzni and Kabul; but Russia's railway activities may turn the flank of Afghanistan and Baluchistan, and force us into holding a line from Seistan to Bunder Abbas. Again, German enterprise in the direction of Bagdad may necessitate some countermove. Will England pay? Assuredly, India can neither find the money nor the willing sepoys for service in regions so remote and uncongenial.

Such a critic, lacking the full knowledge of the Defence Committee, will urge that we have a fairly useful frontier which might be rendered most formidable if we dealt with the tribes once and for all, and created another Quetta on the highlands of Tirah. He looks upon the easy entrance of Russia into Herat and Afghan Turkestan, unhindered by hostile tribes, as a foregone conclusion; and he would rather await the shock on the Indian frontier with troops secure, confident and well supplied.

We may feel very sure that the Defence Committee has anxiously considered the respective advantages of the definite inner line, and the unfortunately indefinite outer line of resistance, and in deciding for the latter is well assured that it is the safer and the cheaper course.

But, inasmuch as it will involve sacrifice on the part of Great Britain in money and men, it would be wise if Government would take the nation into its confidence and would explain why Afghanistan must be defended. The explanation might, among other important matters, refer to the following considerations. We are bound by no treaty with the Amir to defend Afghanistan,

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but we are party to an international understanding with Russia which in 1885 only aimed at "contributing to the establishment of peace and security" in the Amir's possessions. We are not embarking on a policy of adventure and advance, but are compelled, alike by our prestige and self-interest, to sterilize the glacis of India as long as possible, and to resist the humiliation of being ousted from spheres where our influence has been established and our interests materialized. If we contracted our spheres of influence, the peoples of India and our frontier neighbors would ascribe such action to weakness and bad faith. Such contraction would not in the long run tend to the easy or economical defence of India. If we allow Russia to occupy the glacis, the military burdens of India and of conscript Great Britain will be permanent and grievous. If we strike, and strike effectually, at the foe when, after violating the frontier, he approaches the defensible positions of Afghanistan, the military burden will be heavy indeed, but temporary. We may help the Amir with the loan of officers for his regiments. These may hold the passes to the North; but Lord Kitchener will fulfil his duty to India and to Afghanistan if he can stand firm on the Kabul-Ghuzni-Kandahar line. He will have the tribes behind him, and in front an enemy embarrassed by difficulties of supply and harassed by a fanatic and furious nation of marksmen mountaineers. Some would counsel half measures and suggest partition, the easy southern part of Afghanistan falling to us, and the more difficult northern country being left to Russia; but we should lose prestige in India and earn the lively hatred of Afghanistan by such an arrangement, and should be making over to Russia the only material of value in the Amir's dominions—the fighting-men of the north. Partition may some day prove inevitable, but we should not work for it. There are only two alternatives. The first is to hold our present frontier, strengthened by the bastion of Tirah, and to hold the Persian Gulf as a British lake, leaving the crumbling kingdoms of Islam to their fate. The second is to defend the irreducible minimum of territory which is required for the purposes of buffer in Afghanistan and in Persia.

ANGLO-INDIAN.

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WORLD-POLITICS.

LONDON: ST. PETERSBURG: PARIS: WASHINGTON.

LONDON, *March, 1905.*

AT the moment of writing, the Government has touched its lowest depths of internal confusion and external helplessness. Since my last letter it has failed, with all the local conditions in its favor, to win back one seat, and it has humiliatingly lost another. It has been obliged to shed one of its ablest and most successful Ministers. Its majority, which was over 130 in 1900, and on non-fiscal questions is still put at 84, has thrice fallen below 30. If slack attendance and a general air of exasperation and lassitude may be taken as proofs, I should say that it has ceased to believe even in itself. The divisions within its ranks have taken on quite recently a fresh note of personal intensity, and two or three incidents have cropped up to show that the fiscal question is not the only one on which Ministers are at sixes and sevens. It ought to be possible to add that the Opposition has made the Government's difficulties more difficult still. But this is a compliment which, from the very beginning of the fiscal issue, the Liberals have not earned, and even now do not deserve. As tacticians, they are immortally maladroit. When their obvious game is to increase the dissensions on the Government benches, to set Balfourites against Chamberlainites, and the Unionist Free-Traders against both, they have brought forward motions and moved amendments that played immediately into the Prime Minister's hands and enabled him for the moment to present a triumphant and united front. Every direct assault conceived and carried out during the present session by the official Opposition has merely served to renew the vitality of the Government. When Parliament reassembled, the talk of the lobbies pointed to an early dissolution. Within a week, thanks to the blundering manœuvres

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of the Liberal Front Bench, there seemed no reason why the Government should not last out its legal term. Within a fortnight, the Ministry had fallen into pit after pit of its own digging, and if to-day the sentiment prevails that the whole situation has become once more impossible and unendurable, the Government has only itself to thank for it.

Of this extraordinary situation we have had, just recently, a first-class example in what is known as "the MacDonell incident." Into the personal aspects of that episode it is not necessary to enter at any length; like everything else connected with Ireland, they have been preposterously exaggerated. Sir Anthony MacDonell, one of the ablest of India's many able men, was appointed Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Ireland in 1902. He might, had he chosen, have had the Governorship of Bombay; but, being an Irishman, a Catholic and a Home-Ruler, he elected to go to Dublin Castle, in the hope of being able to round off a brilliant Imperial career by "doing something for Ireland." One condition he made on accepting that most thankless of offices—that he should be allowed a greater initiative in influencing the policy and acts of the Irish Administration than most Under-Secretaries, that he should, in fact, be regarded rather as a colleague than a subordinate. This condition was agreed to by Mr. Wyndham, the Irish Secretary, and by Mr. Balfour; and it was further arranged that Sir Anthony should, among other things, devote special attention to "the coordination of the detached and semi-detached boards and departments"—some forty-two in number—that at present misgovern Ireland. On this understanding, Sir Anthony, with the knowledge and consent of the Chief Secretary and of the Viceroy, entered into communication with Lord Dunraven, the prime mover in that policy of conciliation which bore such magnificent fruit in the Land Purchase Act. Their conferences resulted in the publication in August of last year of certain general proposals for administrative devolution, and "a decentralization of Irish finance." The publication caused some excitement among the Unionist extremists, but elicited no disclaimer from the Chief Secretary. A month or so later, the proposals were again set forth in a more definite and detailed form, and were found to recommend the establishment of an Irish Financial Council, consisting of twelve nominated and twelve elected members, to control all purely Irish expenditure,

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and the setting up in Dublin of a statutory body to deal with the whole range of private Bill legislation for Ireland. Mr. Wyndham at once wrote to "The Times," declaring the opposition of the Government to "the multiplication of legislative bodies"; the Ulster Members of Parliament broke into furious assaults on the Permanent Under-Secretary, and on February 16th the Cabinet solemnly censured Sir Anthony MacDonell for his "indefensible" conduct.

Any one can see how readily such an affair would lend itself to the polemics of party warfare. Why, to begin with, were the special terms of Sir Anthony's appointment concealed from the Cabinet and the Unionist party? How came it that Mr. Wyndham, in his innumerable talks with the Permanent Under-Secretary, never realized whither events were tending? Why did he not repudiate Sir Anthony at the very outset of his negotiations with Lord Dunraven? And why, above all, was the Viceroy omitted from the censure which was passed on the Under-Secretary? All these and many other points were pressed home against the Government by Irish Unionists, infuriated at their "betrayal"; by Irish Nationalists, who found them an ideal party weapon; and by the official Opposition. But, after all, the true and essential importance of the whole episode is the evidence it contains of the helplessness of Unionism to deal with the Irish question. English Unionism is tied to the Ulster extremists, and simply cannot, however much it would like to, move in the right direction. Mr. Wyndham became convinced that a new era in Irish administration was inevitable, and he sent Sir Anthony to preside over its inauguration. Sir Anthony reported that in some form of devolution lay the only hope of escape from the present administrative chaos. The men from Ulster at once set up an uproar, Mr. Wyndham grew alarmed and retreated. That there was a battle royal in the Cabinet is, I have every reason to believe, the fact. Eventually, it was not Sir Anthony, but Mr. Wyndham who was thrown to the Ulsterites. But the general moral that every one extracts from the incident is that English Unionism is showing a spirit of steady approximation towards the Liberal view of Irish affairs; that that spirit is hampered and frustrated by the blind and bitter resistance of Irish Unionism to any and every reform; that for the first time a clear gap has been revealed between the tendencies of English Unionists and

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the tendencies of their Ulster allies; that Irish legislation is slowly ceasing to be a matter of party controversy and becoming more and more a matter of unanimous consent; and that the great measures of the future—measures that will check the utter wastefulness of the Dublin Castle system, that will provide the Catholic population with full opportunities for higher education, and that will give Ireland as much control over her private Bills as Scotland possesses—will be passed, as the Irish Land Purchase Act was passed, *nemine contradicente.* Meanwhile, after Mr. Wyndham's pronounced leanings towards the policy of governing Ireland according to Irish ideas, it becomes impossible to raise the Home Rule bogey in its old form. Every one knows that the Liberals will not introduce another Home Rule Bill along Gladstonian lines. The Irish policy of the next Government has, in fact, been settled in advance by Sir Anthony MacDonell, Lord Dunraven and Mr. Wyndham. The Liberals will do what the Unionists wished to do, but did not dare; and though the Irish Nationalists may, for tactical reasons, endeavor to swing the Irish vote against the Liberal candidates in the twenty-odd English constituencies where it exists, I have no doubt that they will support the Liberal Government and accept what they can get, not as a final settlement, but as a substantial instalment.

The defect, so palpable throughout the MacDonell episode, of not knowing your own mind and of always trying to be on both sides at once, has with the present Government become a habit, if not an instinct. It is at the root of their attitude towards the fiscal question, it has permeated their handling of army reform, and they cannot break loose from it even in the treatment of minor issues. The other day, for instance, Lord Percy, the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, spoke on the Macedonian problem in a way that was out of all harmony with the utterances of his official chief, Lord Lansdowne. While the latter has been writing excellent despatches, full of sympathy for the sufferings of the Christian population, and insistent upon the necessity of real reforms, Lord Percy announced that the Turk must "not be pressed unduly"; that the Armenians and Macedonians "exaggerate their hardships"; that the really culpable people are the revolutionaries, and so on in the familiar Disraelian strain. But the shifts to which a Government is driven that has no policy, except a policy of suave non-committal, have been illustrated, most

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abruptly of all, by the Lord Hugh Cecil and the Gibson Bowles affairs. Mr. Balfour long ago announced that the fiscal question was not to be treated as a test of party loyalty. His declaration had no effect on the Chamberlainites, who have done consistently everything they can to drive the Unionist Free-Traders out of public life and supplant them by pure Protectionists. In three cases at least—those of Lord George Hamilton, of Mr. Ritchie, and Mr. Arthur Elliot—Mr. Balfour has watched the operations of the Tariff Reform League without a word of dissent or even criticism. But in the case of Lord Hugh Cecil, the youngest and ablest of the late Lord Salisbury's sons and the Premier's first cousin, he was moved to action. Lord Hugh Cecil, though a Free-Trader, is a convinced and brilliant Conservative. Mr. Morley, who, like all men of lofty natures, is quick to recognize promise and to applaud it, said of him a few days ago that "he has a brilliant power of argument, he has a grand elevation and sincerity of character, and he has a natural gift of sterling and moving speech which, I think, has not been surpassed in the House since the departure of Mr. Gladstone." Lord Hugh Cecil sits for Greenwich; and the local Conservative Association, prompted thereto by the Tariff Reform League, attempted to substitute for him, as their candidate at the next General Election, a Chamberlainite. They made a formal request that the Prime Minister and the Central Conservative organization should withdraw all support from Lord Hugh Cecil, and leave the local Conservatives free either to oppose him or to adopt a neutral candidate in his place. This, Mr. Balfour, through the medium of the Chief Whip, flatly refused to do.

The effect of this refusal was, naturally, to encourage the Unionist Free-Traders. At last, said every one, Balfour has stood up to Chamberlain, and refused to sit with folded hands while a stanch Conservative is being drummed out of the party. But, in a day or two, the Gibson Bowles incident forced an entire reversal of judgment. Mr. Gibson Bowles is a free-lance Conservative and a convinced Balfourite. He opposes Mr. Chamberlain, but he believes in the reality and efficacy of Mr. Balfour's fiscal programme. For the rest, he has been a sharp and pertinacious critic of the Government's measures and policy. Mr. Bowles represents King's Lynn in the House. Lord Stanley and Mr. Fellowes, two Free-Trade members of the Ministry, agreed to speak

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at one of Mr. Bowles's meetings. They consulted the Chief Whip before making the agreement and received his sanction. But, no sooner was it known that members of the Ministry were going down to support a non-Protectionist candidate, than the Chamberlainites insisted on the arrangement being cancelled. It was cancelled, and the Government was placed in the amazing position of backing a Free-Trader in one constituency and disowning a Balfourite in another. Of such a Government what is there to say? Its actions are referable to no settled criterion, unless it be Mr. Balfour's resolve to keep the party together and in office at any cost. That I believe to be the strongest passion of his political nature and the guiding principle of his political acts.

It is a possibility that the Budget may prove the jumping-off board for the Ministry's plunge into dissolution. Though Mr. Chamberlain declares that, so far as he is concerned, and so far as his programme is concerned, the General Election cannot come too soon, I fancy that he will do nothing to bring it on before the Budget. And for this reason. His son, Austen, is the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and what many people believe (quite erroneously) to be the one tender spot in Mr. Chamberlain's nature is his undisguised solicitude for his son's success and his pride in his achievements. Hitherto, Mr. Austen Chamberlain has not found himself in that position which to a Chancellor of the Exchequer must always be the most enviable of all positions; he has not been able to show a surplus. But this year he will show not merely a surplus, but a large one. Trade has been, on the whole, remarkably good; the new naval estimates, based, of course, on the new naval scheme, effect a saving of about $17,000,000; and, altogether, for the year 1905-1906 it is calculated that the Chancellor will be able to dispose of a surplus of from $20,000,000 to $30,000,000. Mr. Chamberlain *père* is not going to deprive Mr. Chamberlain *fils* of the credit and gratification of such a situation. A penny, and possibly twopence, will assuredly be knocked off the income tax, and the duties on tea and sugar may be slightly reduced. Whether the Government will then appeal to the country, I do not know. A "popularity" Budget is always a temptation to dissolve; but whether the Ministry resists or succumbs, it will make no difference. This country is not to be bribed into accepting Protection even by twopence off the income tax.

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ST. PETERSBURG, *March, 1905.*

"VLADIMIR'S DAY" marked the end of the prelude to the Russian revolution which was inaugurated by the Zemsky Congress. With the blood bath of that historic Sunday the movement entered upon a new phase characterized by disorganization in the bureaucracy, strikes and conspiracies among the people, and bloodshed and anarchy everywhere. The appointment of Prince Mirsky to succeed Plehve was a piece of administrative legerdemain: the object being to dangle glittering hopes before the eyes of the intelligent classes, and keep them harmlessly engaged until Kuropatkin had time to score a success. But that game was obvious to the Liberals; and, after it had gone on for some time with shining counters for stakes, the people asked to have them exchanged for hard cash, and then came the political bankruptcy.

The events of "Vladimir's Day" changed the entire outlook as by the waving of a spiteful magician's wand. The tournament of eloquence and diplomacy theretofore carried on in banqueting-halls, around green tables, and in the pages of the newspaper press was at once transformed into civil war of the most demoralizing kind. The storm that ensued swept away every vestige of the Tsar's new-born solicitude for the reign of law and the desire of the moderate Liberals to make allowance for a monarch born to occupy a throne and trained to wield omnipotence. The press was muzzled; banquets, nay, dinners or meetings of five persons in private houses, were forbidden; the most peaceful and loyal citizens were dragged out of their beds at night and imprisoned; a Governor-General was appointed with dictatorial power, and the Autocracy got ready to rule in spite of the people. "Russia belongs to you, great monarch," some provincial noblemen wrote in a fulsome address to the Emperor, and Nicholas II acted as though it were literally true. Thenceforward the hopes of the Autocracy were grounded on the efficiency of the police.

During the Mirsky era, the Social Revolutionists who had killed Plehve withdrew entirely from the arena, in deference to the wishes of the Liberals, whose influence was beneficent wherever they had an opportunity of making it felt. It was implicitly understood that, so long as the authorities allowed even such relative plain speaking in the press as Prince Mirsky permitted, violence should be eschewed. And this unwritten compact was scrupulously observed. True, several obnoxious persons, includ-

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ing General Trepoff and the Grand-Duke Sergius, had been "condemned to death" by the revolutionary committee and the sentence published in various leaflets at home and abroad; but, so long as Mirsky was Minister, no one on the proscribed list was actually executed. And had the advantage of this truce to the Autocracy as well as to the Autocrat been estimated at its real worth, it is probable that there would never have been a "Vladimir's Day." That "first blood" inaugurated a period of white and red terror, some future phases of which may "stagger humanity."

Police, gendarmes, detectives and spies were unavailing to save the Grand-Duke, who, perhaps because he anticipated their powerlessness, took the wise precaution of driving and walking without his consort. He knew he was doomed to die by violence. He had been for years the embodiment of the vital principle of the Autocracy. Therefore he was first on the list of the proscribed. He had misruled Moscow with a rod of iron; he had persecuted the Jews with a degree of hatred akin to mania. Nothing that he said or did seemed inspired by ethical motives or shaped by considerations of justice. He despised soft-heartedness, ignored scruples and went straight to the goal regardless of consequences.

One of his last acts was to give currency to the calumny that Japanese gold had bribed the Russian people to cease work, hamper the Government and cooperate with the public enemy. His adjutant, Djunkoffsky, took the telegram containing that base falsehood to a newspaper office in Moscow, strove hard to have it accepted and finally caused it to be circulated in St. Petersburg. When at last the Tsar's uncle was called to his last account, the manner in which the tidings of his death were received was fraught with evil omens for the future.

Now, for the first time in Russian history, the Autocracy is wholly dependent upon the troops and the police: henceforth, the dynasty is, so to say, seated on the points of bayonets. The guarantee of personal security offered by the complicated system of spying and lying, denouncing and imprisoning, without trial or indictment, is absurdly slight in a country where public opinion is on the side of the revolutionists. I remember when the Minister of the Interior, Sipyaghin, was killed a few years ago, his successor, Plehve, assured a correspondent of the "*Matin*" that the inefficiency of the police was to blame. He set to work to reorganize the service, and, after having spent vast sums on the

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enlistment of the most able human bloodhounds in the country, he declared that the Russian police was efficient. Curiously enough, however, he refused to confide his own personal safety to their watchfulness. He chose a special body of picked men to watch over him, smilingly told a British correspondent that his life was absolutely secure, and was blown to pieces a few weeks later. Then Prince Mestchersky laid the blame of Plehve's death on the lack of cooperation between the public and the secret police, and steps were taken to remedy this blemish in "a system possessed of all the materials out of which a model service might so easily be evolved." In spite of these eleventh-hour improvements, the Grand-Duke Sergius was put to death in the broad daylight, and the press organs of the bureaucracy asked: How is it that the revolutionists have at their disposal a police far more vigilant and enterprising than that of the Government?

But the Russian police is much more enterprising than these critics imagine; its ingenious activity is making deep furrows in the contemporary history of the Tsardom. Turn whithersoever you will, you find traces of the fell work of the police: in the Tatar city of Kazan, in the Armenian trade-mart Batoum, in the petroleum district of Baku, in the Georgian towns of Kutais and Poti, in German Riga, in Russian Moscow, in Crimean Simferopol, violence, arson, bloodshed mark the steps of the lay Jesuits of the Autocracy, who hold that the end sanctifies the means.

Their plan of campaign is genial, simple, criminal. It starts from the proposition that, Russia being a mosaic of heterogeneous races, of irreconcilable churches, rival classes and conflicting interests, if you can once pit these against each other, and induce a process of copious bloodletting, the wild beast in human nature will do the rest. And experience has borne out the contention. Afterwards, when the parties are sufficiently exhausted, the Government appears as a *deus ex machinâ* to compose their quarrels and establish peace. In this way, the Liberal or Revolutionary current will have been diverted into another channel, and an arduous problem well solved. The methods of the police vary not only according to the locality, but also according to the act of the drama which happens to be played at a given moment. Unvarying characteristics of all these sanguinary encounters are the preliminary preparations, the rumors about what is coming,

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the optimism of the authorities and then their total "unpreparedness."

The massacre of the Jews in Kishineff is an example still fresh in memory. The anti-Semitic riots in Moghileff, although less widely known, are equally typical. Exactly one week in advance, the Police Prefect, Rodionoff, remarked to an acquaintance named Visslitsky: "The mobilization begins in a few days, and then, from Tsukermann's Synagogue down to the railway station, the Jews will be thrashed until not a stone remains on the pavement. And, mind you, the police won't hinder it." And Rodionoff proved a true prophet. When the roughs and blackguards, banded together for arson, bestial violence and murder, were starting on their errand, they shouted: "We may beat the Jews and loot their shops. There is nothing to pay. The police allow it. Hurrah!" And the Imperial forces, which were paid to keep order, looked on encouragingly while ruffians were maiming or killing the Jews. Nay, in many cases they took a hand in splitting a skull or hacking a limb. Some of the prominent victims ran for help to the Governor, who refused to receive them, and to the Prefect, who gleefully told them the three reasons which justified the phlebotomy. Rodionoff is still the Police Prefect of Moghileff, and the Governor has received a decoration. "Well done, thou good and faithful servant," the Autocrat seems to say; and, when the loyalty and respect once felt towards him by the nation have vanished, he is astonished. "The strikes are subsiding, the reform Commissions are sitting and everything is quiet again. What then can these assassins want?"—the Tsar is reported to have exclaimed after the violent death of his uncle, a veritable Nimrod in the matter of Jew-hunting. What indeed?

The diabolical scenes enacted in the streets of Baku, Batoum, Poti, and other cities and towns of the Caucasus, will never be reproduced in words. Perhaps it is better so, for they tend to shake one's faith in the human race. Anyhow, the Government has forbidden the press to publish the truth or indeed to make known the essential facts. In merest outline, here is a sketch of what happened. Having been treated by the Governor-General, Prince Galitzin, literally like a conquered territory, the Caucasus offered passive resistance. He shut the schools by scores: the schoolmasters taught in secret, leaving out inculcations of loyalty to the Government. He despoiled the Armenian Church of its

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property; the revolutionary society levied yearly subsidies from the wealthy citizens who supported the Government. Galitzin denied justice to the masses: the revolutionary Committee of the Droshakists organized ambulatory tribunals, which administered rough justice swiftly and impartially. In a word, the Caucasus was driven under the sway of two revolutionary organizations, that of the Armenian Droshakists and that of the Georgian Sakartvellists. The former Committee possessed a revenue of $193,399 in 1903 and of $245,911 in 1904. Prince Galitzin, who built a series of underground passages beneath the Governor-General's Palace, drove out in a protected carriage and wore a coat of chain armor, was wounded in the head by a revolutionist and barely escaped with his life.

The situation having become thus desperate, a heroic remedy was called for. The police bethought themselves of their "*divide et impera*" scheme, and endeavored to set Georgians and Armenians by the ears. But to no purpose. Then the police agents tried their luck with the Tatars, who had theretofore lived in amity with the Armenians. What cannot be gainsaid and has been solemnly affirmed by Tatars and Armenians alike is that no social-economic grounds for a quarrel existed. Religious fanaticism played just as little part in the outbreak, for neither the Armenian nor the Russian Mussulman ever bestirs himself to refute an error or gain a convert. Finally, racial hatred is as foreign to the Tatar as it is to the son of Haik. On the contrary, they always lived together in harmony.

The truth is, that the newspaper organs of the Government and the secret agents of the police, the former openly, the latter clandestinely, egged on the Mohammedan rabble to assail the Armenians, whereby "the problem was solved." An unethical procedure? Possibly, but at least it was thorough.

The editor of the "Baku News" asserts that, before the ghastly deeds of blood were perpetrated, preparations for them had begun "concerning which reports were circulating in our office *nearly one month in advance, in fact immediately after the tragic events of the 22d January.*"

The agents who made these arrangements are known; and, if justice prevailed in Russia, responsibility for the appalling crime would be brought home to the police; but, as things now are, neither the sickening episodes nor the guilty authors of the "out-

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burst" will ever become known to the general public. "Here," writes the "Baku News," "we must refrain from indicating the immediate originators of all the revolting crimes which were perpetrated before our eyes in Baku."

It is significant that "there were many instances of fellows who came to kill but went away peaceably, having received ransom." Therefore it was not personal, racial or religious hatred, but artificial instigation, which goaded on the murderers. Equally symptomatic is the circumstance that, after the butchery had begun, trains were made up in Bala Khany, one of the suburbs of Baku, were filled in presence of the police exclusively with armed Tatars, whose avowed object was to slay as many Armenians as they could, and were despatched to Baku, where these reinforcements joined their bloodthirsty fellows. And all this in the sight of the Tsar's officials! "*Qui facit per alium facit per se.*" Five hundred slain are on the books of the police, and in Russia it is not an easy matter for a man who has been killed in this way to get his name upon the official registers.

The loss of these lives, the destruction of property and the demoralization of so many normal human beings over and above, seem an exorbitant price to pay for the maintenance of the Autocracy. Yet that is but the merest fraction of the cost: for Baku is only one city of the Caucasus, and February was but the second month of the period of bloodletting. In Kazan, the riots which soon afterwards took place against the students and Liberals, with less serious results, had been organized in like manner. The police looked on and made no arrests. Two persons indeed were taken into custody, only two; and they had to be released immediately afterwards on the demand of the head of the Imperial Safety Committee, *who stated that they were his own secret agents.* Imperial agents sacking and burning houses and maiming the bodies of the Tsar's subjects, lest his Majesty should be compelled to part with one or other of his prerogatives, and grant freedom of conscience or liberty of the press! Later still, in the very first days of March, secret detectives and also agents of the police, hired for that special purpose, in Riga, Feodosia, Simferopol, Rostoff on the Don and other cities, scattered printed proclamations broadcast, calling on the people to rise up *en masse* against Jews, students and Armenians.

And now the struggle will continue on the same cruel lines:

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coercion from above, tyrannicide from below, with occasional saturnalia *à la* Baku as of pandemonium let loose. Already the authorities have suppressed every "objectionable" institution and silenced every obnoxious individual. The universities, high schools, technical institutions are closed throughout Russia; students and professors are out on strike; the railways are paralyzed; mills and factories working only at irregular intervals. While Imperial Commissions are discussing how small a degree of improvement may be termed a reform, the authorities are intensifying the very abuses which the reforms were meant to lessen and stultifying themselves by pulling in different directions. Thus General Trepoff keeps a number of working-men in prison, while Senator Shidloffsky, as chairman of the Labor Commission, is clamoring for their release. Maxim Gorky is compelled to sign a document and lodge 10,000 rubles security that he will not quit St. Petersburg until his trial, yet General Trepoff forces him the same day to leave the capital and live in Riga. And those instances are typical of many. At the very moment that an Imperial Commission is concerting measures to curtail administrative caprice and establish the reign of law the Minister of the Interior has suspended all law in all the provinces of Poland, in vast districts of the Caucasus, in Batoum and Kutais and various other parts of the Empire, and the Tsar himself, in his unctuous Manifesto of the 3d March, stigmatizes the legitimate demands of his people as "sedition and revolt," while his own Commissioners are busy striving to realize them.

Most of the elements of the population are mobilized and enlisted in one of the two camps. Most, but not all. The intelligent classes have spoken in no uncertain tones. The working-men and the various nationalities have followed suit. "Put an end to Autocracy" is the burden of their demands. One section of the population, however—and only one—has as yet made no sign. The peasantry who constitute three-fourths of the Russian people are still sluggish and inarticulate. Even the secret police agents have hardly yet dared to arouse them against the have-alls, lest they turn their fury against the be-alls as well. But there is no guarantee that that consummation will not also come. Possibly in spring the peasantry, who care little for politics and crave only for more land, will raise their voices and swing their arms. *Absit omen.*

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PARIS, *March, 1905.*

THE history of the fall of the Combes Cabinet and of the formation of its successor by M. Rouvier is too representative of our parliamentary system not to deserve special attention. There is always something unexpected, and almost treacherous, in the abandonment of a French Cabinet by its majority. The unhappy end hardly ever follows a policy that had to be tried and eventually is found wanting, but comes after some event the suddenness of which causes a panic, rouses slumbering ambitions, and steels cowardice to act with something like deliberateness.

This remark proved more particularly true in the case of M. Combes. The Ex-Premier's anticlericalism was certainly not unpopular in the country, and was distinctly popular in the Chamber. He might have gone on for many months, or even years, turning nuns out of their convents without eliciting any dangerous protest; and the one cause of his fall was the unexpected exposure of the system of delation, and the collusion of some apparently conflicting interests. The men who ruined him were an active member of the Opposition, M. Guyot de Villeneuve, and two members of the majority, M. Doumer and M. Clemenceau. The sequence of the facts bringing about his resignation is very clear. Thanks to the treason of the Free Masons' secretary, M. Guyot de Villeneuve, an old officer and a Nationalist was placed in possession of eight thousand documents proving that promotion in the army was under the control of the Free Masons. When this gentleman first stated the fact in the Chamber, M. Combes denied it, but it was only to admit it a few days afterwards, and, whilst declaring that the use of those documents could be shown to be quite permissible, to eject General André from the Cabinet for having used them. This contradictory action could not but cause uncertainty in the majority, and the vote for the Government fell alarmingly.

A deputy is responsible for his votes to a committee selected from his constituents, and also—under the system I described in my last letter—to the president of the group he belongs to. By negotiating with the committee and with the president of the group, a Premier, even in a dangerous pass, can indirectly bring powerful influence to bear on the deputy whose loyalty he suspects. M. Clemenceau has long been as famous for his terrible outspokenness as for his hatred of anything clerical. Find-

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ing himself shadowed by a police anxious to know what politicians he visited or received, and hearing of various cases of pressure through the committees, he wrote in the "*Aurore*" two violent articles from which M. Combes never recovered.

About the same time, M. Guyot de Villeneuve and M. Doumer, whether by agreement or not, gave the Premier the last blow. M. Doumer had been for six or seven months the sworn foe of the Government, and whatever success he obtained was a defeat for his opponent. At the beginning of the present session, a chance was offered him to trip up M. Combes for good and all, but with a risk of breaking his own neck. The Presidency of the Chamber is a much-coveted dignity, implying moral as well as political influence, the use of an excellent residence, and a stipend of a hundred thousand francs a year. The Government candidate was M. Brisson, an old Radical, narrow in his notions but of unblemished character, and enjoying universal esteem in Parliament. Setting himself up against M. Brisson, M. Doumer clearly gave the Chamber their choice between M. Combes and himself. The odds against him were the popularity and antecedent success of M. Brisson, and the apathy of a large section of the majority. Yet this apathy happened in this particular section to be something different from the cowardice natural to most deputies elected under our system, as the ballot for the Presidency is the only one in the whole year that is secret and leaves the deputy to his own conscience. The first sitting of the session, therefore, is one in which suppressed grievances and discontent can be vented without any risk of retaliation. Now, M. Combes had, according to Clemenceau, exceeded the limits of his lawful influence, and many resented it. The consequence was a majority in favor of M. Doumer. What could the Premier do but accept a motion of confidence in his general policy, a hostile vote on which would mean his resignation? Here came in, once more, M. Guyot de Villeneuve with another explosive. Just before the vote, this gentleman produced a document likely to renew the commotion which his first revelations had caused. This was a letter from General Peigné, an officer in the highest command, informing the secretary of the Free Masons in a cynical tone that he had ordered the transfer of a reactionary officer from one of his regiments to a small hard-worked garrison on the German frontier. When one remembers that France is a country still most attentive

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to military affairs, and that a general is a very great personage indeed, one cannot be surprised that such deference on the part of a commander to a clerk in the *rue Cadet* should appear astounding. At all events, it roused the deputies to anger. The Chamber turned against the Government and M. Combes retired.

We have at present to consider a curious parliamentary phenomenon apparent in the composition of the new Cabinet. The process of the formation of a new government is as follows: The President of the Republic first takes the advice of the presidents of the Senate and Chamber. Acting on their recommendations, he summons some influential member of either house and entrusts to him the task of drawing up a list of Ministers. Of course, the task is not easy, as—in spite of the greed for notoriety which is developed on such occasions—possible Ministers only accept office if the Cabinet appears of sufficient homogeneousness to have some chance of duration. In January, this task was entrusted to M. Rouvier, the Minister of Finance in the outgoing Government. Now, the meaning of this choice was clear. M. Rouvier, in the Combes Cabinet, represented the moderate element, and was known to have condemned more than once the violent policy followed by his Premier. He is, above all, a financier. The opinion of M. Rouvier was that the agitation caused in the country by the anticlerical campaign, and the distrust, among the richer classes, of measures championed by the Socialists, precluded every effort towards financial improvement. Now, if you cast a glance at the new Cabinet, you will see in it only three Ministers of the same political views as the Premier, viz., MM. Delcassé, Chaumié and Etienne, whereas the remaining ten can all be labelled as Radical-Socialists. What may have induced M. Rouvier to select men with whose views he may incessantly find himself at variance? The key to this riddle is to be found in the "Group System," without a knowledge of which French politics is simply unintelligible. Let me remind the reader that the majority is divided into six sections comprising from forty to eighty members, and working individually as miniature parliaments with presidents, secretaries, and private debates on all the more important questions. When a decision has been come to in the group, all divisions in the Chamber being public, a member seldom ventures to secede from his friends. Thus by consulting the presidents of groups, a Premier is enabled to calculate almost

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mathematically the majority he can rely upon. The consequence is that no Prime Minister can dream of governing without the concurrence of enough presidents of groups to secure a majority; and he cannot expect to obtain their concurrence if he does not take their wishes into account when selecting his colleagues. Conflicting personal ambitions, jealousies between one group and another, and also between the Senate and Chamber, render the task very arduous, and few Premier-Designates have brought it so quickly to a happy conclusion as M. Rouvier. The Ministers are able men. True, the Minister of War, M. Berteaux, is a stock-broker, and the Minister of Marine, M. Thomson, boasts no other naval experience than what he can get when crossing over from his home in Algeria to Marseilles; but we have seen at least two Ministers of War—MM. de Fréycinet and Cavaignac—who were civilians and did exceptionally well; and, if M. Pelletan got into trouble, it was only because he systematically excluded admirals from his councils. At any rate, the Minister of Finance is a banker, and the Secretary for Fine Arts a painter. M. Rouvier has appointed two very young, but very distinguished, collaborators, MM. Ruau and Clémentel, who, in spite of their advanced opinions, are universally esteemed, and he has left in office M. Delcassé, whose continued presence there is a guarantee of wisdom in our foreign politics.

Here we are, then, with a Cabinet headed by a moderate Republican, but consisting mostly of active and intelligent Radicals. What is to be expected of the combination? If the Premier were another man than M. Rouvier, the answer would be plain: the policy of the new Government should be advanced, or the Cabinet would be sure to go to pieces in a few weeks. With such an old campaigner the probabilities are different. M. Rouvier has been engaged in finance all his life, and in politics for over thirty years, and he is a Southerner. The consequence is that he views his *rôle* in quite a different light from M. Combes. The latter has preserved a theological habit—the fruit of his clerical education—of taking things absolutely, and his amazement at his failure bespoke the man with whom contingencies are non-existent. With M. Rouvier, on the contrary, politics is a matter of probabilities and possibilities. It is the natural view of a man who was brought up to business, has managed the national fortunes for thirty years, and thinks above all of utility.

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It is no slander to remind the reader that he was involved in the Panama scandal; but, even in that untoward episode, he could hardly be accused of dishonesty. Personally, M. Rouvier, although a native of Marseilles, is straightforward and outspoken. In his politics, he is nothing if not shrewd, and he will go mostly by the politician's principle that living is a great thing. This may seem a very short-sighted view and an exceedingly vague programme, but the Parliaments and Cabinets in which M. Rouvier was schooled between 1875 and 1890 hardly knew any other, and in the present situation no training could serve him better. He must remember that liberty of association was under discussion for twenty-five years, and that until it was sanctioned in 1901 by the famous Waldeck-Rousseau Act, it furnished matter for numberless debates and countless Bills, the protracted examination of which helped Cabinets to last out their ten or eleven months of life. Struggling on was the great object, and the more vexed the questions, the greater the chance of seeing no end to them. It is on the exceptional difficulty of the Bills passed on to him by M. Combes that M. Rouvier relies for ability to live on in spite of the motley appearance of his Cabinet. That is why he was not afraid, on first appearing before the Chamber, to state his firm intention of passing the three Bills on Disestablishment, Income Taxation, and Old Age Pensions. M. Rouvier knows very well that the pros and cons of Income Taxation may be forgotten and resumed a score of times before anything like a definite decision is arrived at on the subject. He has gratified the Radicals in office and their friends in Parliament by placing the separation of Church and State at the top of his list—and the examination of the Bill in committee has been proceeding for several weeks with feverish activity.

Certainly it appeared from M. Rouvier's speech on Income Taxation that he wanted to frighten at the end the same people he had striven to reassure at the beginning, and some critics came to the conclusion that in his heart he was no more won over to Income Taxation than he used to be, and preferred to have it talked about rather than actually carried. It is also rumored that his scheme for Old Age Pensions involves the establishment of a new monopoly, which would be no less than the monopoly of Insurance. Now, it should be known that the four great American Insurance Companies have been allowed to work in France

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only on condition of having their securities deposited in three per cent. stock. The announcement of a monopoly would evidently be followed by the immediate withdrawal of this deposit, amounting to a hundred million dollars. As the Treasury cannot afford to take this loss lightly, it is quite possible that the Premier has only inserted this clause to impress people with a sense of the difficulty of raising the necessary fund. Clearly, M. Rouvier's great object is to keep the Chamber busy with these almost impossible Bills till the happy time dawns for him during which Governments never fall. It is only a matter of a few months. The session ends in July, and Parliament meets again late in October. If M. Rouvier's plan answers till the new year, we shall be within four months of the General Election, and when this critical period draws near, the Chamber grows amazingly tame, the Ministers sit at ease.

Public opinion has undergone some change with respect to Russian affairs. At the beginning of the war, the fifth Russian Loan had been welcomed, like its predecessors, with enthusiasm, and everybody, excepting a few officers who had followed manœuvres in Russia or inspected Russian men-of-war, felt sure that the Japanese were no match for their gigantic opponents. The natural sympathy for the weaker side was dampened by the dread of what has already been thought of, for many years, as the Yellow Peril. Popular imagination is ready to picture a fearful coalition of all Eastern Asia, as if it were a thing of to-morrow. Politicians entertain a more definite, and doubtless a better founded, anxiety. Before the publication in the "*Echo de Paris*" of the plan—spurious or genuine—for a Japanese inroad into Indo-China, M. Doumer, who has just returned from the latter colony, which he governed for five years, had published a book the conclusion of which was an earnest entreaty that we should be on our guard against the newcomers into civilization. They were arrogant, greedy and unscrupulous, like all upstarts. M. Doumer added with prophetic insight—for he quoted from a report of his written before the commencement of the war—that we had long ceased to be in a position to enter on a naval struggle with Japan in her own seas; in fact, that she had nothing to fear from any European Power. So the French press greeted with loud approval the announcement of a military plan, similar to that of Kitchener in South Africa, and likely to grind the Japanese

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army into atoms. The few discordant sounds came from Radical or Socialist journalists, who did not take the trouble to conceal their amusement at the first Russian blunders at sea and defeats on land. These disasters were carefully dressed up as ordinary casualties by nearly all the other papers. It is well known that, before the hostilities began, the seventy stock-brokers on the Paris Bourse had come to an agreement to keep up Russian bonds—an engagement which they even now hold to with praiseworthy pluck—and such an agreement was, of course, sure to strengthen these silent propensities in the press. The "*Echo de Paris,*" the chief organ of the Nationalists, has an excellent correspondent at St. Petersburg, whose letters for the last few weeks have been by far the fairest and fullest we could read, but the editor gladly consented to curtail them so as to rob them of all their interest.

Only the capture of Port Arthur and the massacres at St. Petersburg induced the Parisian press to give up their manipulating of despatches after the methods of the Russian *cabinet noir*. They had so often predicted that Port Arthur would not be taken, that they felt they could only be believed in the future if they began to tell the truth. Besides, it is a lamentable law of human nature that the continuance of misery exhausts compassion. And it must be seen also that the massacres were only too likely to divert public sympathy. France is certainly not the home of liberalism; but it is certain that for fifty years after the Revolution Paris was the fountain-head of all liberal tendencies. Apart from the very few Frenchmen who still preserve a conviction that anything democratic is essentially bad, nobody was found to maintain that a state of affairs consistent with such a contempt of the right of petition and such a misadministration of police ought to be tolerated. What the Socialist papers proclaim every day, nearly the whole country admits in a whisper, viz., that our friendship with Russia is only skin-deep and would never have been popular if a sense of security after many years' anxiety and isolation were not sure to be popular. I need not resume the history of our relations with Russia, but every Frenchman old enough to remember a time when the alliance was not even spoken of will remember at the same time that the national feeling towards Russians was not in the least friendly. Fresher than the memory of Sebastopol was the recollection of

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the treatment of Poland, which had awakened an indignation difficult to quell in a moment. The Russian was an oppressor when he was not an extravagant profligate. He might copy French civilization and perform the comedy of French politeness with the perfection of a consummate actor, he was still a barbarian at heart; he might push Liberalism to the extremity of Nihilism, he never came to a right sense of his own or his neighbor's liberty. Popular language even now does not distinguish a Russian from a lout, and a clownish fellow is called indifferently a "*gros Russe*" or a "*gros rustre*" ("a great Russian" or "a great clodhopper"). It was only when the visits of the Tsar and of Admiral Avellane had heated the nascent sympathy to a degree of enthusiasm that the habit was dropped in the French army of calling a blundering soldier a "Cossack." Even this enthusiasm did not blind us to the darker side of the Tsar's immense power. In the book which did more than anything else to awaken real sympathy for Holy Russia—I mean M. de Vogüé's admirably written study on "The Russian Novel"—the sympathy was with the national qualities of the poor Russian, with the forbearance and trustfulness of the *moujik* and his Christian fatalism. On every page, the constantly recurring word, "Siberia," appeared as a gloomy background to pictures which the writer did not like to dwell on, but which weighed upon his mind. It is those pictures, rendered familiar by the popular literature of thirty years ago, that the bloody scenes at St. Petersburg called up with awful reality. From that terrible Sunday the policy of silence was given up, and a policy of sincerity was adopted by the Parisian press, and we now read reliable accounts of what takes place in Manchuria and Poland. The decision of the International Conference on the Hull incident has influenced public opinion in the same direction. A week before the verdict, it was rumored that the report absolved Admiral Rosjestvensky altogether; on its publication, it was seen that the concluding paragraph just accorded him extenuating circumstances. So the impression left by the latest events is that neither at home, nor on land, nor at sea, have our allies fulfilled the expectations we had formed of them. This is neither the place nor the moment to consider changes in French foreign politics likely to follow from a truer view of the real state of Russia; but that such changes are possible is evident to all.

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WASHINGTON, *March, 1905.*

THE most noteworthy incidents from the view-point of world-politics that have occurred at Washington during the current month have been the inauguration of President Roosevelt for the term ending March 4th, 1909, and the failure of the Senate to ratify the Santo Domingo Treaty. The beginning of a Presidential quadrennium is always a date of some importance in American history, even when it does not indicate the transfer of power from one political party to another. The spectacle presented on Saturday, March 4th, was especially interesting on more grounds than one. Mr. Roosevelt is not, of course, the first Vice-President to be subsequently chosen President, for a similar honor had been attained by John Adams, Jefferson and Van Buren. It would have been attained, doubtless, by Vice-President John C. Calhoun had he not quarrelled with Andrew Jackson. What was unique about Mr. Roosevelt's inauguration was the fact that he should have been elected to the Chief-Magistracy while occupying by accident the post of President. That is a distinction which John Tyler, Millard Fillmore, Andrew Johnson and Chester A. Arthur would gladly have secured, but which each of them missed. Not one of them, except Fillmore, could even, while a tenant of the White House or afterward, compass a nomination at the hands of any political party. Their failure has been accounted for, sometimes on the assumption that the acquirement of the Presidency by accident is apt to provoke popular resentment, and sometimes on the ground that the beneficiary of calamity had never been able to resist the temptation to change the policies and supersede the appointees of his predecessor. The nomination and election of Mr. Roosevelt to the Presidency in 1904 is often attributed to the wariness with which he avoided alienating Mr. McKinley's friends. He displaced none of these from office, and he refrained from opposing any measure of which Mr. McKinley was known to have expressed approval. Undoubtedly, by such circumspection, he allayed distrust, reassured the uneasy and deferred the hatching of hostile intrigues within the party organization, until their successful prosecution became impracticable. It is also true that chance favored Mr. Roosevelt. Had Senator Hanna lived, or had he died a year earlier, it is quite conceivable that the opposition to Mr. Roosevelt's nomination, which, unquestionably, existed in a latent or sporadic way, might have gath-

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ered head and become formidable. The immense majority, however, not only of the Presidential electors, but also of the popular vote, which Mr. Roosevelt obtained demonstrates that the principal cause of a success unparalleled in the case of any other President by accident, was his personal superiority to any of the four other men whose elevation to the White House had been due to the death of the preceding tenant. In respect of intellectual equipment and intellectual vigor, Mr. Roosevelt stands upon a higher plane than that occupied by Tyler, Fillmore, Johnson or Arthur. From the view-point, indeed, of character and temperament, or of many-sided experience and accomplishments, and as regards the breadth and contagious fervor of his sympathies, he was qualified to be one of the most popular candidates for the Presidency that we ever had. The votes cast last November showed that his individuality was pleasing to the rank and file of both parties, and several incidents that occurred during the recent session of Congress bore witness to his possession of a hold on Democrats as well as Republicans, so far as the House of Representatives was concerned. It was, therefore, not only as the standard-bearer of a party, but as the favorite of the nation, that Theodore Roosevelt was borne in triumph to his inauguration on Capitol Hill. It was recognized, also, as peculiarly fitting that, as one who had not only advocated, but risked his life for, the liberation of Cuba, and who, as Assistant Secretary of the Navy in 1897, had done his utmost to equip his country with the sea-power indispensable for victory over Spain, he should be accompanied in his procession by representatives of Porto Rico and the Philippines, the outward and visible signs of the republic's efflorescence into a colonial empire.

It will be recalled that when a Roman Imperator returned from the scene of his achievements, and ascended the *Via Sacra* in his triumphal car, it was customary for a slave to be stationed behind his shoulder for the purpose of whispering the warning, "Remember that thou, too, art mortal." It might have been no less apt and timely, if, as Mr. Roosevelt rode to the Capitol, amid such an outburst of enthusiasm as Washington has seldom witnessed since the close of the Civil War, some one had reminded him *sotto voce* that the Conscript Fathers are not easily swept off their feet by the uproar of the Forum, and that he had yet to reckon with the Senate. In the course of our national history

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under the Constitution, the Senate has humbled many a President, and never, except by Jackson, and by the immediate inheritors of Jacksonian traditions, has that body been forced to kneel at the feet of an Executive. There came a day, indeed, when shamefaced Senators saw themselves constrained to expunge from their journal the record of the vote of censure with which they had sought to brand Andrew Jackson, but against that hour of debasement may be set many a period of defiance and ascendancy, from their rejection of the treaty which embodied the annexation of Texas until they came within a hair's-breadth of ejecting with contumely a lawful tenant from the White House. Since by only one vote Andrew Johnson escaped conviction of high crimes and misdemeanors, our Chief Magistrates have been wont to look upon a contest with the Senate as unhealthy, yet it is only fair to say that, if Johnson could have had at his back the House of Representatives, as Jackson had, and as Roosevelt seems likely to have, he would have escaped even impeachment, though he might have been subjected to considerable annoyance by the Upper House of the Federal Legislature. Experience, indeed, has shown that, if a President has behind him the people and the people's spokesmen in the lower branch of Congress, he can start a tide of public opinion not easily resisted; while, in the mean time, he can put recalcitrant Senators in the wrong, by an adroit and popular employment of his initiative, and gradually build up among them a party of his own by the use of patronage and the veto power.

We know that Andrew Jackson did not hesitate to pick up the gauntlet which the Senate flung at him, and the question pressed upon onlookers during the recent session of Congress and since the inauguration has been, Will Theodore Roosevelt evince equal promptitude in the acceptance of the challenge which he undoubtedly has received from the Senate? To all appearances, the President has the people with him, and he certainly had the zealous support of the House of Representatives in the Fifty-eighth Congress. There is as yet no reason to doubt that he will prove equally strong in the next House, which must have been materially affected by the tidal wave that gave Mr. Roosevelt his phenomenal majority. On the other hand, it is certain that the Senate has for months evinced a frigid lack of sympathy with the President's plans, and maintained an obstructionist attitude.

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Of upwards of a score of measures known to be dear to Mr. Roosevelt's heart, only two have found places on the statute-book. The President holds that, not only generosity, but justice, enjoins upon us to grant the same privilege to the Filipinos that we have accorded to the Porto-Ricans, the privilege of free admission for all their products to our markets. To his appeals upon this subject the Senate has turned a deaf ear. Evidently, the Senators care more about the interests of our domestic growers of sugar and tobacco than they do about the welfare of the Philippines. For upwards of a quarter of a century our State Department has striven to bring about close commercial relations between the United States and the autonomous British colony of Newfoundland. Such relations would have been established by the reciprocity treaty which Mr. Hay submitted to the Senate, but that body straightway proceeded to load the document with amendments calculated to prove highly objectionable to the insular Administration. Not only did our State Department participate in The Hague Conference, and become a signatory to The Hague Convention, but it has since been at pains to rescue The Hague tribunal from neglect, by requesting it to determine the disposition of the Mexican Pious Fund, and by bringing about a reference to it of the claims against Venezuela. By these proceedings, our Federal Government had become, in the eyes of Europe, the foremost champion of the principle of arbitration, and Mr. Roosevelt had essayed to vindicate our right to that distinction by negotiating with European nations no fewer than seven treaties, whereby it was agreed that controversies falling under certain categories carefully defined should, by special agreement between the parties, be submitted to arbitrators. All of these treaties, which constituted, in Mr. Roosevelt's eyes, the most precious outcome of his foreign policy, and his best title to honor abroad, the Senate practically killed, by erasing the words "special agreement" and thus compelling the submission of every controversy to arbitration to be authorized by a separate treaty.

Nor was it only in the field of foreign affairs that the Senate has seen fit systematically to snub the President. If any measure relating to our internal administration has had Mr. Roosevelt's earnest endorsement and the almost unanimous approval of the popular branch of Congress, it is the Esch-Townsend bill, which proposed to redress certain grievances, of which producers and

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distributors complain, by permitting under certain conditions the Interstate Commerce Commission, and on appeal a new commercial court, to fix the railway rates for transportation. Nevertheless, the Senate, although its Committee on Interstate Commerce had previously declared that any further investigation of the subject would be superfluous, tossed the Esch-Townsend bill into the waste-basket, and announced that it would authorize some of its members to institute at their leisure during the summer an examination of the question, What measures, if any, for the supervision and modification of railway rates would be expedient? That is to say, the Senate virtually claims for itself the possession of all the wisdom, justice and equity of the Commonwealth, and practically denies that the people at large or their direct spokesmen in the House of Representatives, or the President, who is clothed with a fresh mandate from the voters, are qualified to propound, concerning an urgent economical problem, a solution that merits even the poor compliment of immediate attention.

The Senate's rebuffs to the President were not destined to end with the close of the Fifty-eighth Congress. To the special session of that body which followed the inauguration Mr. Roosevelt submitted the Santo Domingo Treaty, a document obviously fraught with an international importance out of all proportion to the financial exigencies of the Dominican Republic, with which, ostensibly, it was concerned. There is not a great European capital in which the prospective significance of that treaty was not quickly and fully recognized, and we add that there is not one in which the ratification of the compact by the Senate was not taken for granted. From the hour when our Federal Government remained a passive but reluctant spectator of the blockade of Venezuelan seaports by the allied fleets of three European Powers, it was foreseen on every European Bourse that the United States could only avert the ultimate reduction of a delinquent American republic to the fate of Egypt by an interposition between creditor and debtor for the adjustment of obligations and the apportionment of revenue for liquidation. That was perceived to be the only solution to the grave problem mooted by the Venezuelan affair, the only solution reconcilable with the Monroe Doctrine. So clear, so logical, so inevitable seemed to foreign observers the deduction known as the "Roosevelt Corollary" from the position taken by Monroe, that

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none of them for a moment doubted its acceptance by the American people and by their spokesmen in both Houses of the Federal Legislature. As a matter of fact, however, the Senate's Committee on Foreign Relations, by cancelling the preamble of the Santo Domingo Treaty, virtually gave notice to the world that it declined to endorse the assertion that the interposition between the Dominican Republic and its foreign creditors was a logical, just and wise application of the Monroe Doctrine. In other words, with all possible distinctness, it gave European governments to understand that the so-called "Roosevelt Corollary" rests upon nothing but a single President's *ipse dixit;* that absolutely nothing has happened to modify our international attitude since the forcible occupation of La Guayra and Puerto Cabello; and that, so far as the Senate is concerned, without whose concurrence any treaty is waste paper, and any formulation of foreign policy but so much wind, European governments are at liberty to enforce with their fleets and armies the payment of debts due from an American commonwealth, so long as they stop short of the permanent occupation of the debtor's territory. They may sequestrate a third of the income of two custom-houses for a definite term, as was done in the case of Venezuela; or, if the debts claimed are large enough, they may confiscate all the income of all the debtor's custom-houses for an indefinite period, and thus deprive the delinquent commonwealth of the whole revenue hitherto relied upon to defray most of the cost of internal administration. It is absurd to pretend that the destiny of an American republic would be in no wise affected by such a wholesale confiscation.

By its drastic amendment of the Santo Domingo Treaty, and by its subsequent refusal to ratify the document, even in an amended form, the Senate, whether intentionally or not, has taken a step which undoubtedly tends to humiliate the President in the eyes of statesmen at home and abroad. Whether that tendency will be overcome, and whether, eventually, the Senate will be forced to assume a less obstructive attitude, depends upon the question whether, in the course of the summer, the legitimacy and expediency of the "Roosevelt Corollary" to the Monroe Doctrine shall commend itself to the good sense and foresight of the American people. If it does, the President will be rehabilitated, and the Senate will be proportionately discredited.

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